



THE SVPLIE OF THIS
Irish Chronicle, continued from the
death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this
present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties
reigne, *for Iohn Perot residing deputie*
in Ireland.

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie
of Excester, gentleman.



*S from the time of Giraldus Cambren-
fis (the best deserued and exact writer of the
conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few
or none haue followed and continued any per-
fect course of that historie vntill the death
of king Henrie the eight, and the begin-
ning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and
therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance
can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet
gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in time of
warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records,
which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens
collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen
so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen
out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due ob-
seruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie
the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of
remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in
their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one
from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect
and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought
to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle
and*

and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an uncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauls and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.





THE SUPPLIE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord

1586, and the 28 of the reigne of

queene Elisabeth.

Sir Antho-
nie Senteleger
knocked.



1547
Sir Edward
Bellingham
made lord de-
putie.

A mint in
Dublin.

Sir Edward
Bellingham
carefullesse in
gouernment.

Sundrye sta-
bles of horses
kept.

His secrecie
in his seruice.

Leighlin ab-
beie inclosed
with a wall
and made a
fort.

After the death
of king Henrie
the eight, sir An-
thonie Senteleger
knight, was re-
lucked; who deliue-
red by the sword
at his departure
vnto sir William
Babston knight;
and he was lord
iustice, vntill such
time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to
be deputie. This man was seruant to king Ed-
ward the first, and of his priuate chamber: a man verie
well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout
& ballant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouern-
ment. In his time there was a mint kept in the ca-
stell of Dublin, which being at his commandement,
he was the better able to do good seruice to the king
his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In
the ciuill gouernment he was careful to place lear-
ned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a spe-
ciall eye for the doing of their offices; as he had the
like care for good and expert captains, to serue in the
marriall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice
to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sun-
drye stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler,
and some in one place and some in another, as he
thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he
had to do, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take
in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priue,
as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof,
before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and
for the most part, whensoeuer he took anie iournie
in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what
place he would ride, or that he would do. It hap-
ped that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of
Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where-
vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought
good, and without making them acquainted that he
minded to do, took horse & rode to Leighlin bidge.
The abbete there (being suppressed) he caused to be in-
closed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that
house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and
there he furnished himselfe and all his men with
horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in
to poundster, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlooked and vnthought of, The earle of
he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by. Desmond tak-
the fire, and there took him, and caried him with-
him to Dublin. ken in his
house.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and The earle is
in apparell, hauing for want of god nurture as much rude without
god maners as his kernes and his followers could nurture.
teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did The earle: in-
so instruct, schoole, and in forme him, that he made a struced in cte-
new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie-
in maners, apparell, and behauiours apperteining to-
his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of-
his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince;
and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes
an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This
though it were verie strange to the earle, who ha-
uing not bene trained by in anie ciuillitie, knew
not what apperteined to his dutie and calling: nei-
ther yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king
his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested
and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe
most happie that euer he was acquainted with the
said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor
him, as that continually all his life time at euerie
dinner and supper, he would praise for the god sir
Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was
so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where
soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no
man; but would be at his owne charge. It hap-
ped that traueilling the cuntry, he was lodged on
a night in vicount Baltinglaffes house, where all
things were verie plentifully provided for him: to
which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestow-
ed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he com-
manded his steward to paie & discharge all things,
thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused
his interteinment; saying: The king my master
hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me
therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore,
I neither maie nor will be burdenous nor chargeable
to anie other man. He was verie exquisit & careful
in the gouernment, as few before him the like; al-
well in matters martiall, as politike, magnani-
mous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling
of the enimie; and as seuer & vpright in the other, to
the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flat-
terie could he be gained, nor by bribes be corrup-
ted;

The earle
praieeth for sir
Edward Bel-
lingham.

The lord de-
putie would
be chargeable
to none.

The god go-
uernment of
this deputie.

Sir Edward
Deringham
was beloued.

1548
Sir Francis
Wizian lord
iustice.

Sir Francis
Wizian married
the countess of
Ormond, died
and was bur-
ied at water-
ford.

1549
Sir William
Wabston
lord iustice.

1550
Sir Anthone
Sentleger
lord deputie
the second
time.

1551
Sir James
Croft lord
deputie.

1552
Sir Antho-
nie Sentle-
ger lord depu-
tie the third
time.

A fatall destr-
uie to euerie
good governoz
to be stande-
red.

1555
The lord
Fitzwaters
made lord de-
putie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie and
Coywen lord
iustices.

ted; he was feared for his feruente, and beloued for his integritie; and no governoz for the most vniuersallie better reported of than was he. But as verie hath the contrarie to enemie, so he found it true: for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation not working so worthie a man, who trauelled all the waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforme that corrupt state of gouernement, that great practises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and matters of great importance informed and enforced against him. Whereupon, before two yeares ended of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir Francis Wizian made lord iustice. At his comming into England, great matters were laid vnto his charge: but he so effectually did answer the same, that his maiesties doubtfullnesse was resolved; & he not onelie cleared, but also better liked than euer he was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe, had he not alleged his infirmities; the which was a fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted for his excuse. Sir Francis Wizian had married the countesse of Ormond, and by that meanes he was a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was but short, & no great matters could in so short a time be done by him. After his death, sir William Wabston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he continued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthonie Sentleger came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & experience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet there remained some coles of the fire in his first gouernement vnnunqued; and within a short time than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James Croft was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill successes in good attempts did not answer his valour and good deserts.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king Edward the first, and then he was called home, and sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the estate, vntill queene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie Sentleger; who now the third time was lord deputie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well acquainted in the courtes of that land, knew how to meete with the enemies, and how to staie all magistrates and others in their duties and offices: for which though he deserued well, and ought to be beloued and commended: yet the old practises were renewed, and manie slanderous informations were made and moued against him: which is a fatall destinie, and inenitable to euerie good governoz in that land. For the more paines they take in tillage, the worse is their harvest; and the better be their seruices, the greater is the malice and enuie against them; being not vnlike to a fruitefull apple tree, which the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hurled at him. Well, this man is called home, and the lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie. At sir Anthones comming ouer, great matters were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersaries he had, which verie eagerly pursued the same against him: wherein he so answered, that he was not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge for ever to passe ouer ante more into so vnthankfull a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a short time of his being there, was sent for into England. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie then treasuroz at warres, and doctor Coywen, were for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie hostile af-

ter, a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe and resumed his former office of deputie. After that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with the Dneile. For the whole north part of Ireland began to be vniquieted, and for preventing of sundrie inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish Ilanders in adding the said Dneile, the lord deputie made a fourreite and boiage into the said Isles, to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence, he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but after that he had done his businesse, he returned againe to Dublin, where he remained and continued in his office vntill the death of queene Marie, and then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Henrie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time. And after some time spent there, and queene Elizabeth now settled in the imperiall crowne of England, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he had taken in hand: who did verie great good seruice against the Irishie, and by meanes he toke the Dneile, and kept him prisoner in the castell of Dublin: but yet before he could do byng the same to perfection, he was reuoked into England, and left the land in a verie broken state; which was committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well liked, chosse was made by his maiestie and the counsell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place, who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruicour in that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene treasuroz at warres, which is the second office vnder the lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord iustice solis and iointlie foure times. Great was his knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue the gouernement of them. He was therefore called from out of Wales, where he then resided in his gouernement vnto the court: and there after conference had with his highnesse, and with the counsell, he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, being the seventh yeare of his maiesties reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of his maiestie a booke of instructions signed with his owne hand, dated the fift of October 1565, the seventh yeare of his reigne aforesaid, concerning the principall articles for his gouernement & direction, which chiefly consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a counsell established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the gouernement of the same realme in times of peace and of warre; and whose names were then particularly set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of them should before their admission be sware by the said lord deputie, according to the accustomed manner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as his maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and seruices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises, assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and authority whereunto his maiestie had called the said sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold his place in that realme: they should yeld that obedience and reuerence vnto him, as to such a principall officer doth appertene. And then they both together, to haue a speciall care and regard to the gouernement, which was com-
sed

The Dneile
and all the
north be vn-
quiet.

1556
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
iustice the
fourth time.

1557
The earle of
Sussex lord
lieutenant.
The Dneile
taken and
kept in prison.

1564
Sir Nicholas
Arnold
lord iustice.
1565
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
president of
Wales.

A booke of ar-
ticles deliue-
red to sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
for his go-
uernement.

A counsell to
be established.

Euery countie
to be
sworne.

fed in foure articles that do orderlie hereafter fol-
low.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes
to be kept, and
christian reli-
gion to be
blessed.

Learning of
the scriptures
to be mainte-
ned.

The church
lands not to
be alienated.

The lawes to
be duly admi-
nistered.

Shiriffes to
be appointed in
euerie shire.

The garrysons
to be looked
vnto.

A muster to be
kept euerie
moneth.

A due regard
to be had of
hir maiesties
reuenues.

That euerie
officer of re-
ceipts do
searche make
his account.

Sir Henrie
Sidonie tas-
eth his leane
of the queene
and counsell.

Sir Henrie
Sidonie was

First, that they should faithfullie and
earnestlie regard the due and reue-
rend obseruation of all Gods lawes
and ordinances, made and established

for the maintenance of the true christian faith and
religion among his people; and that all meanes
should be vsed, aswell by doctrine and by teaching,
as by god examples, that deuotion and godlinesse
might increase, and contempt of religion might be
restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning
in the scriptures might be maintained and increased
among the cleargie, and that for the reliefe of the ec-
clesiasticall state, no alienations nor waikes of the
lands pertaining to anie church or college, should be
alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefi-
ces be put in vze: besides sundrie other articles in-
cident to this effect.

2 The second was, that the administration of law
and iustice should duly and vprightlie be executed,
without respect of persons: that inquirie be made
what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or o-
ther ministers of the law: that vnfit persons maie
be removed from their places, and some sufficient
persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the
same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in
euerie countie, and to execute their offices vpright-
lie, according to the lawes of England.

3 The third, that the garrysons and men of warre
be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and re-
pressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they
do line according to the orders appointed, without
oppression of the good and true subiects. That there
shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster
made either by the lord deputis, or by such commis-
sioners as he shall appoint mete and indifferent for
that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the num-
ber of the souldiours vnder euerie capteine; for the
sufficiencie of their persons, their horses, armours,
and weapons, and other their necessities: and how
they were paid of their wages, and whether they
were Englishmen or not.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had bene
had a due care & regard to the preservation of the
reuenues of the crowne, & for the recoverie of that
which is withholde. And whether euerie of the offi-
cers appointed for the receiuing of anie part of the
said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents,
shiriffes, exchequers, collectors of the subsidies, cu-
stomers, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and
of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and
such others, did yearelie make and answer their ac-
counts; and besides sundrie other articles incident
to euerie of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his com-
mission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition
he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto
him: which being done, he repaired to his mai-
estie and toke his leane: and to his farewell, he gaue
him most comfortable speeches and god counsels,
promising him fauor and countenance to all his well
doings, and a consideration for the same when as
time should serue. The like leane he toke also of the
lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the
like farewell: and these things done, he departed
towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long
time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and
arrived in Ireland the thirtieth of Januarie, about
fue miles from Dublin, and from thence he travel-
led to Dublin; where he was most honorablie recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the
whole counsell; together with the maior and his bre-
thren of that citie. And the people in great troops
came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all
the iote that they could deuise.

The next sondaie then next following, being the
seuenth daie of his arrivall, and the twentieth of the
moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and
counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie na-
med Christs church; where after that the diuine ser-
uice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword,
and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and wher-
with he made a most pittie, wise, and eloquent ora-
tion, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The
first, that a pretious thing is god gouernement,
and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and
countries do flourish and prosper, where the same
is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisdom, directed
& gouerned. Secondlie, that a continuall care the

The benefit of
god gouernment.

queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onclie
for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of Eng-
land, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie de-
sireth, and wisheth to be preferred, as well in peace
as in warre: that she hath made great choise from
time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert
counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skil-
full, and expert men of armes for the other: that
both in peace and warres, the publike state of the
commonwealth, and euerie particular member
therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in
safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the per-
formance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the
reuenues of the crowns of Ireland, did yearelie
far above anie of his progenitors, expend of his
owne cofers out of England, great masses of mo-
nie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All
which his excellencie expences and continuall cares
she made the lesse account of; so that his realme and
subiects of Ireland might be preferred, defended,
and gouerned.

The queenes
maiesties con-
tinuall care for
Ireland.

The queenes
maiesties ex-
pendeth
yearelie out of
his owne cof-
ers for Ire-
land sundrie
thousands of
pounds.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue
made better choise of manie others, who were bet-
ter able to hold his place in this realme, both for ho-
nor, wisdom, and experience: yet his pleasure
was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon
him. Which he was the more vntwilling to take
vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the
more vnable & weake he was to susteine the same.
Nevertheless, being in god hope, and well promised
of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well
doings, and hauing his confidence in them his high-
nesse counsellors associated vnto him, to iointe, aid,
and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is
the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope
that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of
God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the com-
monwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme
and people of the same. And so making his earnest
request to the said lords present, for their continuing
with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in
this his maiesties seruice, he made an end of his
speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the
great value and weight of this his graue and wise o-
ration, did most humbly thanke his lordship for the
same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and o-
bedience to performe and attend whatsoever to them
in anie wise should appertene. These things done,
they all conducted the said lord deputie in all hono-
rable manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common
people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and
with great acclamations and iote did congratulat
vnto his lordship his comming among them in that
office. Immediatlie after the performance of all
the

The congra-
tulation of the
people.

A. y. the

The broken
state of Ire-
land.

The English
pale wasted
and spoiled.

The soldiers
beggierie and
out of order.

The misera-
ble state of
Leinster.

The fertile
soile of the
countie of
Kilkennie
made wast.

Downfall by
civil war de-
stroyed.

Thomond all
wasted by ci-
vil warres.

Connagh de-
stroyed by ci-
vil warres.

The gentle-
men all impo-
uerished.

Wilder was-
tye and rich.

the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called
and assembled all these persons which his highness
had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of his ma-
iesties private council for that realme, and did sweare
them according to the accustomed manner. Then
from time to time they assembled and met, consult-
ing and deliberating what waite and order were best
to be taken for repairing of that broken common-
weale and ruinous state, being as it were a man al-
together infected with sores and biles, and in whose
bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the
foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that
land was ever miserable and in perill to be over-
throwne: it was neuer more like than at these pre-
sents; for as for the English pale, it was overwhel-
med with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who dar-
lie by spoiles and robberies have deuoured and wa-
sted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were
so poore, and the commons in such extreme penurie,
that they had not horses, armes, nor weapons to de-
fend them, nor apparell, vittels, nor any other neces-
saries to relieue them; the soldiers so beggerlie that
they were most intolerable to the people, and so com-
ed in insolencie, loosenesse and idleness, that vni-
lesse the remedie were the more speedie, they would be
past correction: and so much the worse, because ma-
nie of them were alied in marriage, and companies
of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them,
their truth and seruice more doubtful to his maie-
stie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether
most miserable, the Tols, Duhynes, Kinshelaghes,
Dooles, Dmoughs, Carenaughas, the Mozes,
and the residue in their accustomed manners who-
lie bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of any
safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in
the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a
fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, be-
came of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie
few being left to inhabit the same.

Downfall, the inhabitants there likewise for the
most part being followers to the earle of Desmond,
and following his wars against the erle of Desmond,
made that prouince, and especiallie the counties of
Tipperarie and Kierie, being wealthie and rich, to
become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom
his maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstand-
ing experience had taught them, and they assured,
that no waite was for their recoverie and safetie so
good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to be-
come his highnesses loyal and obedient subiects: yet
as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, con-
tented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be
miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace
and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altog-
ther almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle
there and sir Donell O'Brien. Desmond likewise
by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Des-
mond and O'Dmond, and by the dauntie inuasions and
prieies of Piers Grace was almost wasted and in-
habited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and
most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie
rich and wealthie, and well inhabited, is wasted with
the wars betwene the erle of Clanrichard and Pac
William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted
and impouerished, partlie by reason of their dissim-
ulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles,
and partlie by the particular discords among them-
selves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout,
wont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie,
were by the dauntie prieies made vpon them and their
tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were
not able to mainteine and relieue themselves nor
their families. The prouince of Ulster for wealth

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves,
but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of
receipt of all the pries and spoiles from out of the o-
ther prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifullnesse, and
obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloyall,
rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane O-
neile by blood and murder had gotten the maisterie,
he alone then ruled the roste, who in pride exceeded all
the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor al-
lowing any equall. And here it were not amisse,
but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and
cause why the said Shane did first breake out from
his due obedience, and did shake off the gouerne-
ment of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer
hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here follo-
weth.

Con O'Neill, the first earle of Ulster, had two
sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king
Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con
O'Neill, and to reueine and keepe him a good subiect,
he being a mightie man, and of great power in his
countie, he made and created him earle of Ulster,
and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dun-
gannon, and the remainder of the said earldome to
the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie.
This Shane being the second brother, and of an al-
piring mind, envied his elder brother, and in no wise
could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh
occasions to quarell and fall out with him, and in the
end most traitorously and vnnaturalie murdered
him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much la-
ment and bewaile the same, but began much more
to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuertheless, it is
not known that the said Shane did offer him any
violence, but when he was dead, although he had no
right to succeed into the earldome, by reason that
Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him,
who by the letters patents and course of the com-
mon law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane
usurped the name of O'Neill, and entred into his fa-
thers inheritance according to the Irish manner, a-
mong whom the custome is, that the eldest in yeares
of the name of any house or familie doth succeed his
ancestors, vniuersallie at the time of his death he had a son
of the full age of one and twentie yeares. And thus ha-
uing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he
scoorneth at the English gouernement, and after the
Irish manner proclaimeh himselfe O'Neill, and the
capitaine of his countie, refuseth likewise all obe-
dience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open
rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidene then lord iustice, in the ab-
sence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these
sirs, taketh aduise of the counsell what was best to
be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord
iustice should take his iorney towards Dundalke,
for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send
a messenger to Shane O'Neill, who then late at a
lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and
to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which
was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieing
pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship
that it would please him to chiseen a son of his, & be
his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do
all things in seruice for his maiestie, as his lordship
should command and appoint. This answer at the
first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the
lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first
come and submitted himselfe. But when it was con-
sidered what great inconueniences might ensue, if
his request were denied; it was agreed that the said
lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And
accordinglie vpon the last of Iannuarie, one thousand
five hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said
Shane's

Shane O-
neile.

The cause of
Shane O-
neiles rebel-
lion.

Con O'Neill
made earle of
Ulster.

Shane blin-
dyth the name
of O'Neill.
The Irish
custome in
succession.

Shane O-
neile breaketh
into rebellion.

Shane O-
neile praieing
for Henrie
Sidene to be
his gossip.

Shane's house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and having performed the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doings, did allege for his defence sundrie articles as followeth.

Shane excu-
seth himselfe
why he came
nato to the lord
iustice.

Matthew
was Bellate
sonne.

The objections
of Shane
Dneil against
the title of
Matthew to
be Dneile.

The wicked
custome of the
Irishie.

Matthew
sweeth the
leguynne of
Dneile.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungan-
non was the sonne of one Bellate of Dundalke, a
smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the
spousals of the said Bellate, and one Alson his wiffe,
and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and
reputed to be the sonne of the said Bellate, untill he
was of the age of threene yeares or thereabouts: at
which time Con Dneile his father, upon the saleng
of the said Alson, that he was the father of the said
Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to
be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Fardarough.
And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this
countrie; which is, that if anie woman doe mislike
hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue
all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during
their abode togither, except such as she shall name to
be begotten by anie other man: which man so named
shall by their custome haue the said child: and so
it should seme to be meant of this point. Also
the said Matthew did upon this the affirmation of
his mother seeke to vsurpe the name of a segniorie
of the Dneiles, and the dominions appertaining to
that segniorie and surname. Also that there be aboue
a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise
yeld to this the claime of Matthew, although he for
his owne part would be contented therewith. Also
he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that
should intitule the sonne of the said baron to the said
lands are bitterlie void, because that Con Dneile
father to the said Shane had no other right nor inter-
est to that countrie, but during his owne life: and
therefore without the consent of the lords and inha-
bitants of that countrie, could make no surrender
nor conuenance, whereby he might be enabled to take
and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English
pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie
person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inqui-
sition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the
letters patents doe passe: which in this case neither
was, nor could be done, with the countrie of Eiron
is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should accor-
ding to the queens lawes descend to the right heire,
then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire
being mulierlie bozne; and the other not so bozne.
Also he saith, that upon the death of his father lord
of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the
custome of the countrie did assemble themselves to-
gither, and by a common consent did elect and chose
(without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to
be Dneile, as the most worthy and ablest of that
countrie. Which election by the custome of the coun-
trie hath bene alwaies vsed without anie confirma-
tion, asked of the kings and queenes of England.
Also he saith that as Dneile he claimech such authori-
ties, iurisdictiones, and duties upon his men & coun-
trie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors,
and which duties for the most part are recorded, and
remain in writing. When the lord iustice had at
full heard these articles, and considered well of them
togither with the counsell, made answer vnto Shane
that the matter was of great weight and impor-
tance, & which neither he nor the counsell cold deter-
mine of themselves, before hir maiestie were made
prieue and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the
meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and
to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto hir maiestie,
nothing doubting but that he should haue and

celue at hir hands, what should be found met, right,
and iust.

And so hauing bled manie god and frendlie
speeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane
promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and ho-
nestlie, & as to his dutie should appertene: they de-
parted in verie frendlie manner. And thus in such
wisdom and politike manner the lord iustice hand-
led the matter, that by tempersing and gaining of
time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntil
the coming ouer of the earle of Shuster lord de-
putie: who then of a newe toke the matter in hand,
and he did so streitlie and seuerelie follow the same,
that he ouermatched Shane Dneile. But it so gre-
ued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissem-
bled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well,
yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed
nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his
haires but neuer changeth his conditions, was one
and the same man or rather worse, and therefore
tyrannized and bled most cruelly, and of all others
most disloyall and disobedient; to the deputie would
he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with
him, but at his owne pleasure.

Shane D-
neile promi-
seth to be
quiet.

Shane Dneile
is become a
tyrant and
a rebell.

The queenes maiestie in some termes he would
honor, but in dedes he denied all obedience, subtil
and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but
in the residue of the daie verie vncerteine and vn-
stable, and much giuen to excessive gulping and fur-
setting. And albeit he had most commonlie two
hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dunc-
dun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer sa-
tisfied, till he had swallowed by marvellous great
quantities of Wike bagh or Aqua vite of that coun-
trie: wherof so vnmeasurable he would drinke and
bouse, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie,
which by that meanes was most extremelie infla-
med and distempered, he was easies conuened (as
the common report was) into a deepe pit, and fran-
ging vpright in the same, the earth was cast round
about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did re-
maine untill such time as his bodie was recouered
to some temperature: by which meanes though he
came after in some better plight for the time, yet his
manners and conditions dailye worse. And in the
end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and
insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize
ouer the whole countrie; greatly it was feared that
his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the
whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, even
as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the ma-
nner of the great Turke, was continuallye garded
with six hundred armed men, as it were his fami-
lies about him, and had in readinesse to bring into
the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand
footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husband-
men of his countrie with armour and weapons, and
trained them by in the knowledge of the wars: and
as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he
all the people to his becke and commandement, be-
ing feared and not beloued.

Shane Dneile
is drunken
and a misfe-
ter.

Shane Dneile
buried in the
ground after
his drunken-
nesse.

Shane D-
neile's force.

The peasants
in Ulster train-
ed up in
warre.

Winerle meanes and waies were practised and
vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying
and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time
to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who
sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as
backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ire-
land there was the lesse doubt to reconer them, by
reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had con-
sumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this
man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be cha-
stised, and with force be reduced to conformities.
Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the
matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking
L. iij.

of

Postes set be-
tweene Ire-
land & Lon-
don.

The misera-
ble state of
Ireland.

God noz
religion in
Ireland.

of him atwaie. And bicause in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisement should go to and from hir maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciprocally, there should be set postes appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogether denoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, civil and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and towncs: and yet the one being gentlemen and liuing by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impowerished, and brought to such extremitie, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one excelled all the rest, that there was scarce a God known; and if known, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is known, the prince obeyed, no lawes current, no government accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdom: Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneye noble lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daily assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherin his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the counsell, then ioined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe dyuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the Dneile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue the rebinto.

At this present time the earles of Desmond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwene them were daily examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And bicause their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a final end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best known, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the queenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound each of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the foresaid examinations. But in the meane time whilst these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, seized & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Desmond, which things were verie hostile after appealed. In these troublesome daies spacie Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Mourier, hauing verie great possessions, and laie still in

peace and did nothing at all, neither took he partie with one vpon, he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance misliked both their doings.

This man made his humble suite to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognize his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his blood & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parliament in that reime; & for his further aduancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane Dneile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligne him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, by a long out speeches not meet nor seemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of spacie Artimore, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the queene is my soueraigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir seeking. And where he had required to haue his parliament robes sent vnto him as earle of Tiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a trial to be made in parliament) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an earle. For I am (saith he) in blood and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he intoid not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, whereby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

How hir maiestie, being grieved and annoyed with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelye rosted out, or chastised: but therein she was stayed, being bozne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yeeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now she seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be utterly extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the seuenth of Maie 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and government of this realme. Who when he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordinglie things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph colonell of the footmen, and sundrie other captains arrived with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was

spacie Artimore current: directly all his lands to the queene & thereby of her.

spacie Artimore made earle of Clancare.

Shane Dneile scoffed at the earle of Clancare.

The proud taunts of Shane Dneile.

Shane Dneile for his pride and tyrannie becometh hateful before God & man.

The earles of Desmond and Desmond submit themselves to the queens order.

Sir John of Desmond spoileth the earle of Desmonds lands.

Sir Francis Knolles sent into Ireland, 1566

convenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustred all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And glorying much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to adventure upon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busied to giue sondrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and he had the repulse, being with shame dynen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

Shane O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserued commendation: which perforce and maugre of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arrived at the Dirrie with seven hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the counsell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of any thing, vntill the comming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane O'Neill.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriveth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the service.

O'Neill incampeth nere the Dirrie and offereth challenge.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through O'Donells countie, and so thorough Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen vnder the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornelwall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisite. Shane O'Neill who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now upon his honor and reputation, incampeth himselfe about two miles from the garrison, having then in his armie two thousand five hundred footmen, & three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and chell himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell notwithstanding these battie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come over to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were battie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remove him from his to nere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three

hundred men, whom he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen vnder capteine George Heruie, marched toward O'Neills campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; persuading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell prepareth to fight with O'Neill.

The coronell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. O'Neill in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronells footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some slaie. Whereupon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of O'Neill. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horsemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell herie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonished and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whom the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase about foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

O'Neill and his companie flee, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funerall the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last overthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of O'Neill and his companie, that they had no desire of any further incounter with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determind in the spring to adventure some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne up with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sick there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, saving capteine George Heruie: for he rather did chose to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore even almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about O'Neill, and in all places thoroughout Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of his maiestie. And yet considering the great

The lord deputie kepeth the coronell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth the Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by sea.

Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

impos-

The lord deputie maketh a iourne into Ulster.

1566

The possibillitie of the O'Neill.

Donnell restored unto his possessions. The lord deputie recovereth a great countie in Ulster unto the crowne.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

importance of the service, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iourne into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capitaine and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Kassekeagh, & so from thence he travelled through out Ulster, and passed thence unto Athlon in Connaught, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this iourne the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer any fight at all: saving once at and nere a wood not far from Clogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Lirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but toke his ease and durst not to giue the adventure. In this iourne the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castles, kept by O'Neill from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships iourne he recovered to his highnesse a countie of foure score miles in length, and eight and forty miles in breadth, without losse of any man saving Mac Gwiler, who being sicke died in this iourne; and saving a few persons which by the waie upon an occasion would adventure the winning of a certeine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittells of the enimies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Immediatlie upon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Mounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoy at his pleasure the earle of Desmond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Thomas Fitzgibbon of the Decies; but he did not hurt any man at all: saving one Mac Donogh a rebell and a dissolall savage man. The lord deputie being overlaid with the continuall cares to resist O'Neill, could not in person trauele into Mounster, nor yet without great perill dislode his armie: wherefore he sent capitaine Herne constable of Leighlin unto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendement and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged upon the earle of Desmond, although the rumor was, that he would conioine with O'Neill. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delay, toke his horse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capitaine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships deuotion, either to go and attend him unto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get: the lord deputie finding him vittells: and then to abide & serue in Ulster in despite of Shane O'Neill; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine upon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed unto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifullnesse to his maiestie,

as was meet for a subject to shew to his soueraigne. The deputie hauing some liking of his offers, and considering the sickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within fouretene daies: which he did, and with him came sir John Desmond, his uncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Powze and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Gentleger, and capitaine Herne, did remaine upon the borders, untill his lordships returne from out of his iourne in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infested with the cruell warres of O'Neill and the troubles in Mounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs unto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against another. For Oliver Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certaine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were grievously complained upon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgibbon, sir William McCarell, and others; for their daily outrages, robberies, murders, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministracion of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and councell for a chancelor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolved upon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuer therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his bright, diligent, and dutifull service, as that the whole realme found themselves most happy and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking upon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the lord deputie, who immediatlie upon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he toke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such convenient places upon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & convenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing undone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great solitie of himselfe deuised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countie, slue manie of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were lustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode upon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had disaffected him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countie, as is before said, gained from him the last iourne, Mac Gwiler, a mightie man in his countie forsake him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull service, and to receiue his lands and countie at his highnesse hands.

The earle of Desmond serueth in the English pale.

Oliver Sutton complaineth against the earle of Kildare.

The ladie of Dunboine complaineth against the Butlers.

1567 Doctor Weston is made lord chancelor of Irelands.

The O'Neill entereth the English pale with sword and fire. The O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke the second time, and departed with great dishonor. The O'Neill forsaken of friends.

Mac Gwiler forsaketh O'Neill, and doth the Scot.

The lord deputie taketh a great price upon the O'Neill.

The O'Neill distressed of all comfort in doubt what to do.

O'Neill his owne conscience condemneeth him to seke submission.

O'Neill seeth how he helpeth the Scots.

The Scots had disguised with O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill slain by the Scots by a draught made by captaine Piers.

Shane O'Neill's head set upon the top of the castle of Dublin.

Alexander Og and Mac Donnell offer to serue hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against the rebell. Con Donnell late deliuered from the rebell, offereth seruice against him. Tirlogh Lenough with the helps of his neighbours daile backed the said O'Neill, that his force was quailed that waite. The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also issue out, and in one morning toke a prele of two thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps and followers, his men, some by O'Donnell, and some by others to the number of three or foure thousand persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuented, and now but one poxe castell left wherein he trusted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weakened, and beholding his declination and fall towards, was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe, and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie, and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit himselfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with inifinit and most horrible murders, bloudsheds, treasons, whozedomes, drunkenness, robberies, burnings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wickednesse, that his heart was overlaid and overladen with an bitter despaire to obtaine anie grace or fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persuaded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that they would iointe and aid him in his most wicked rebellion. Whereupon he toke his iourne towards Glendebodie, where Alexander Og and his companie, to the number of six hundred persons, were then incamped: and for the better gaining of his purpose, he had a little before enlarged Charleie Boie brother to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner with him.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, pretending and promising him aid and assistance: which they ment not. For aslonge as O'Neill together with O'Donnels wife, whom he kept, & the small companie which he brought with him were come into the tent, and they assured of him: they called to remembrance the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his hands, and nammie the murdering of one James Mac Conell, & one Mac Guillie their nere cousins and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious minds to reuenge their deaths, they fell to quarrelling with the said Shane O'Neill, and with their slaughter swords helued him to peeces, and slue all those of his companie that were with him: his bodie they layed in a kernes shirt, and so without all honor was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and there interred; but after a few daies he was taken up againe by captaine Piers, by whose deuile this stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in bloud, did continue it with bloud, and ended it with bloud. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same provoked himselfe before the high and eternall God, and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the

deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrileger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Wiltier, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Tiron, being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the capteinrie of Tiron, who most humble and obedientlie presented and submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectually instructed and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which cometh thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortly to send commisioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controuersies betwene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should lue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace vniuersallie, euerie man departed home iofullie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who late for an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the castle of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of Iulie 1567. The queenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Wiltier at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, whereby the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skillfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also the being aduertised of the outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in mainteining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Desmond (whose insolencie to seke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the onclie cause of great murders, bloudshed, and vndoing of manie people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castle of Dublin, which was so done. And after both he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the tower.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe thereunto, and by a commission vnder hir hode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor Welleson then lord chancelor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and vpright; the other verie wise, and of great knowledge and experience in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to do hir maiestie seruice, did most louinglike and brotherlike agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the several gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their government verie well

The queene aduertised of Shane O'Neill's death.

The noblemen of Wiltier, being glad of O'Neill's death, do submit themselves.

Orders giuen by the lord deputie to the noble men of Wiltier.

O'Neill's sonne is committed to safe custodie.

Robert Leeth sent into Ireland to draw a true plot of the whole land.

The earle of Desmond committed to ward, and sent to the tower, together with his brother sir John Desmond.

1567 Doctor Welleson and sir William Fitzwilliams made lordes iustices.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie passed into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Molineux.

Sir Edmund Butler breakeh out into outrages.

The pride of Mac Artie Moore earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres upon the lord Roch, James Fitzmoyses maketh warre upon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh sute to hir maiestie for the recoverye of his lands in Ireland.

well and quiettie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie having placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Donno; Sligo, he was with great honoz received at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending upon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland; then it is well knowne that he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was wel come to hir. After the while, after his departure, the particular grudges betwene some certeine men brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh invasion upon Oliver Fitzgerald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlaws of the Donnoys and Moyses proclaimed traitors, and having in the field a thousand of Gallowglasses, horsemen, and Bernes, threaten to burne the towne of Bilkennie, and spoile Dearell of his countrie. But they as also Oliver Fitzgerald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leaving to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The erle of Clancart was puffed up with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Molliuan Moys, and others of the Irishye of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroyed all the corne therein, seven hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried away sixtine hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoyses of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoyses baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken upon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure here in. About this time one Moyses a runnigate preest, having lately bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arrived into Ireland, and made challenge to the same see: which being denied unto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenly with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This peace sir Peter Carew of Spohonestreie in the countie of Denon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marquesses of Cork, barons of Dron, and lords of Passon Twete, and sundrie other lordships in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended unto him: he made the quens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to followe, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted unto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships seuerall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

god meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the iustice hereof to be his agent: who having by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Passon, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Dron, then in the occupation of the Caneuaghys.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiuers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was trauesed before the lord deputie and counsell, and upon god and substantiall euidences, records, and proses, a decre passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recouered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records doe impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Cork, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in any quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, having spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arrived at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and took the sword of gouernement upon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediately following.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a preie in Shillelagh upon Oliver Fitzgerald, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles upon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruices in the countie of Bilkennie, and Tipozarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferēt god order, saving some contention betwene the earle of Clancart, and Mac William Enter, and an old controuersie renewed betwene McDonell and Donnoer Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghys countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Othaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoyses of Desmond, against Fitzmoyses baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlaws, did disorderlie spoile and preie the countries to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certaintie thereof, immediately upon his landing in Ireland he made a tourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishye to stand in waivering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh Omeile, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a tourneie upon Fernete, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obtained, and not until his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Peter Carew passed into Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recouereth the baronie of Dron.

1568 Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland was in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

Turlogh Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteth himselfe.

Scots had put in for their localtie. Donelle quietlie possessed the countie of Tirreconell, and continued a dutifull subject to his maiestie; saving the old grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decaye. When lord of the land betwene Loghfoile and the Ban, being for the same same time molested by Turlogh Kenogh, did beare with all injuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the queenes maiestie. He like did the two principall men, eligible for the captainrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good state and quietnesse.

Parliament summoned at Dublin.

The lord deputie after this tourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the advice of the counsell he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouvernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out unto everie noble man for his apperance; & to everie shiriffe for choosing of knights and burgeses for their like apperance at Dublin the seventeenth of Januarie, in the eleventh yeare of his maiesties reigne; at which time and date apperance was then and there made accordingly. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing his maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner unto Chyffes church, and from thence unto the parlement house: where he sat under the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson velvet doubled or lined with ermin. And then there the lord chancelor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby maintained, and each man in his degree conserved; as well the inferior as the superior, the subject as the prince: and how careful all god common-wealths in the elder ages have bene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holsonne lawes, either of their devises, or drawn from some other god common-wealth: and by these meanes have prospered and continued.

The lord chancelor his oration.

And likewise, how the queenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother over her children, and as a most vigilant prince over her subjects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie careful, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: having caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the counsell and advice of you his nobilitie, & you his knights and burgeses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honor of almighty God, the preservation of his maiestie, and of his imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most careful to do their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgeses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the avoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble themselves at and in the house appointed for that assemble; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adjourned untill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgeses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanihurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who upon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he having done most humble his

Stanihurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; Stanihursts oration. first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorne and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling doth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnsit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Fewerthelesse, for so much as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruise being done with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holsonne lawes, wherof he was a professo.

And hereupon he took an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancelor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what god successe there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for ever most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was his maiestie; who not onlie was careful by the sword to stand in their defense against all enemies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselves, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please his maiestie to grant unto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to everie assemble of a parlement. The first was, that everie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free coming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and everie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds freely to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndercent manner, or if anie other person should euill treat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of everie such offender should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble manner done his obeisance; the lord deputie having paused upon the matter, made answer to everie particular point in most eloquent and effectuell manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing mistaking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place; doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that daillie experience did confirme the same generalitie, so no one nation particularlie could better avouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordingly frame themselves to liue accordingly; and also to paie for his maiesties safetie and long life, whereby under his they might intoie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

The requests of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answered Stanihursts oration.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemblie, to hir honoz, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as the were not impeached, nor hir imperiall state derogated, that they should inioine the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adjourned.

A mutinie in the lower house.

Sir Christopher Warriner well excepteth against the choice of the burgesses.

The resolution of the judges.

The dissuading of the judges opinions.

The selfewill and frowardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

The next daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that compaignie, in stead of vnitie there began a dissension, and for concord discord was received. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Wex and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemblie as not good, nor warranted by law. Their vantage was sir Christopher Warriner knight, who being some what learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthy to haue bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged thre speciall causes, whie he and his complices would not yeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie towne, which were not copozat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of towne copozat had returned themselves. The third and chiefeest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such towne and copozations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies togither, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater brolles; until in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: unto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for towne not copozat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returnes. The messenger of this answer, howsoever he were liked, his message could not be received nor allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vnlesse the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose by in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauntie and wisdom, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifying of the same, the chiefe iudices of the quenes bench, and the chiefe iudice of the common pleas: the quenes sergeant, attorneie generall, and solicitor, the next daie following came to the lower house, and there did as firme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof,

And albeit this matter were orderly compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euerie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the sequelle of that assemblie, where euerie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their captainries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices misliking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a byewing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

Sir Edmund Butler misliketh with the parlement.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poynings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seuenth, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie froward & so vnquiet, that it was more like a bearebaiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wisse and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the wisther hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being grieved, stood vp, and prayed libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an vbiage in Pithagoras scholes, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but giue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue bene altogether silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praye their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse that was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the quenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefully perfozmed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that she neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expences spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yelded vnto hir. It appeared manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assemblie, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poynings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without any of your consents, as she hath already done the like in England; saving of hir courtelie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better trial and assurance of your dutifullnesse

The repeale of Poynings act.

The act for imposts of wines.

dutifulnesse and goodwill towards hir. But as the hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long seruices in times past, his continuall and daillie trauels, tozmes, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserved more than well at your hands: yet as the vni-
thankfull Israelites against Moses, the vnkind Ro-
mans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vngratefull Atheniens against Socrates, The-
mistocles, Epistatides, and others; you haue and do most vngratfullie requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whome and his doings you do kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and met to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; facing the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuellie as they did digest it most vnquiettie, supposing themselves to be touched here-
in. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being well nere two of the clocke in the afternone, that the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. Howbeit such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemblie conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then laie and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long about the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretlie send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commendement of the speaker, order was giuen to the doores keepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vni-
known friends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, alone as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnewell, and the lawiers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderlie manner inuicigh against the said gentleman, affirming, swearing, and protesting, that if the words spoken had bene spoken in anie other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Wherevpon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had anie matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disordered, being more like to a beerebatting of lose persons than an assemblie of wisse and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disordered behauiours; who not onelie promised

so to do, but also prated assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements used in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parliament house imprinted for Iresland.

The order and vsage how to keepe a parlement in England in these daies, collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, & Elizabeth Reg. decimo tertio: and the like used in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.

The king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof do wholly and onelie depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properly be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, for so much as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediatlie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefe ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, about all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people do both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoever is contrary to true religion, all disorders and abuses, ether among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their children, their aduancement & preferment in marriages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the avoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuieing or hauing anie aid or subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and bearriving of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof establish and order such good lawes as orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

The order and maner how to
summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least forie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lordes and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addrested to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king allowes sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, and by them they are sent and disperfed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their severall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie severall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be
chosen for the clergie, and of their
allowances.

The bishop ought vpon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vntlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or prozie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or prozie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or prozie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appealing of schismes, and dealing of god and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order used among them.

How and what maner of knights, citizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen,
and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinalie read. Wherevpon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be severall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses vnder the severall common seals of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but three shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iournete towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thence. Wherby, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneleng six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be here in kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vntlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to veritie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio*: not because they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swoords: but because they should be such as haue god experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and realme good aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of god fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees of estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempoꝛalltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do a ny thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least foure daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wherefoꝛeuer it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniencies, and therfoꝛe to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which oftentimes did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience free, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great griefs, did diuide this one house into thre houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempoꝛall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breuie subiect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much moze in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hangd richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and vpon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, vpon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancelloꝛ, or keeper of the great scale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king; who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, vpon which they do write and late their books. In the middle rowe beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned counsell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit vpon great wooll sacks, covered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre of raille, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a void roome seruing for the lower house, and for all suitors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelloꝛ or keeper of the great scale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honoꝛ of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these thre daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safelie kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read thre times he must put the same to question.

If a ny bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vntlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If a ny bill be denied, impugned, and clere ouerthrowne, the same is no moze to be thencefoꝛth recited.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtful whether it be the greater, & giue most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If a ny bill be imperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must choise a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

The order and maner how to summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least for the dates before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lordes and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marqueses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be adressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Yorke, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their severall pponinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie severall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be chosen for the clergie, and of their allowances.

The bishop ought upon the receipt of the writ sent unto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, unless they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or pporie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or pporie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or pporie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be grane, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, convincing of heresies, appealing of schismes, and dealing of god and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order used among them.

How and what maner of knights, citizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen, and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing received his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among the myselfes of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Whereupon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be severall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainpenners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses under the severall common seals of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but thre shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, untill the last daie of their returne from thence. Provided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneiling six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, unless he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be grane, wise, learned, skillfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skillfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio*: not because they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but because they should be such as haue god experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and realme god aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of god fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their leues, all officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempozaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do a[n]ie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wherefoerer it be kept, the old vsage and manner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniencies, and therfore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which oftentimes did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freely, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great græfs, did diuide this one house into thre houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempozall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breuely subiect and declare particularly in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hang'd richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancelor, or keeper of the great scale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king; who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and late their bookes. In the middle rowe beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned counsell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great wool sacks, covered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre of raille, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a void rowe serving for the lower house, and for all such as shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great scale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Also he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that upon these thre daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration upon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make chosse of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safely kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read thre times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and cleere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenceforth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether it be the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must chosse a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and everie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the advice of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to pate their fines, unless they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or have some full and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do give and deliver the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command everie man of ech degree in that house to do the like. Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman serjeant ought to attend upon him, going before him with his mace, unless he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a serjeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for everie privat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall cleark of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings severall courts of records to be inrolled, as nammely the Chancery, the Kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such privat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will have the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the cleark of the parlement, & the other named the cleark of the crowne. The cleark of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to give the same, receiving the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliver up unto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, saving he may keepe a transsumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for everie privat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for everie bill whereof he giveth a copie, he hath for everie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

The cleark of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and roome of the cleark of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the cleark ought to have.

He must give his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be enjoined him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will have them exemplified under the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and have for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a board before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one serjeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diverse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie manner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or other wise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to have anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, unless he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a serjeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or serjeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for everie date of the parlement.

Also he hath for everie privat bill which is enacted, fortye shillings.

Also he hath for everie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of everie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distind from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, having foure rows of seates one above an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table board, at which sitteth the cleark of the house, and thereupon laith his bookes, and writteth his records. Upon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings private counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, saving that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsell, the Londoners, and the citizens of London do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other,

in which the under clerks do sit, as also such as be sutors and attendant to that house. And when sooner the house is divided upon anie bill, then the rooms is divided; and the one part of the house cometh downe into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the
lower house.

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisdom, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie following.

This office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmitie kept and obserued.

When he is presented vnto the king, sitting in his estate totall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and inioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue aspertained, and bene used in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of speech, and steele to utter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that company, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mislike himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but grauntlie pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clearke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when sooner he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must brieflie recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath chosse, which and when they shall be read: vntilke order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vntilke the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: nevertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saying thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath bene read, saie Aye: then the affirmatiue part saie Aye. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath bene read, saie No. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiected: but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the better room, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the trial the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this trial the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for otherwise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie foreign person do enter into that house, the assemble thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermeddling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholly to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his chosse, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both howses, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humble praying his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

Of the clearke of the lower house.

There is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laith his bookes: He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read:

read : he must read openly, plainlie, and sensible.
The bills which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house ; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fōrtie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the lower house.

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house : and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there ; vnlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person do come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carrying his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence ; and of euerie burgeisse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill do passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemble of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons : euen so the archbishops and bishops do sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and usages ; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function ; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops do sit all at a table, and do discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned : for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sereton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops do not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, do resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie do obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons do vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquutor : when they haue chosen him, they do present him vnto the bishops : and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onelie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vnlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement : but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof ; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) do consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others : these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement : the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other ; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iustices and their associates of the kings bench and the common ples, the barons of the erchequer, the sergeants, the attornies, the solicitors, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceived and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancelor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is alreable particularlie declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and excepted the sondaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhalloives daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue untill eleven of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserved for committees and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and upon whom resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Nevertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chiefe which do inlue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, daie, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, priuileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, coming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humble to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last day, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolved: for upon these daies he must be present, but in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propone to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordingly as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be aduised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented unto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reiect it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the daie and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie
of the parlement, and of the orders
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, chiefe, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may iointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth; but being diuided, and one swarming from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaille. And yet neuertheless, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not do or yeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectual, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or coming will not appeere, or appeering will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deuise, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelates or barons of the parlement, and the temporal lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Again, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whom he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealth of his realme. Wherefore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their folie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the auoiding of confusion they

be now diuided into two severall houses, and yet neuer thelesse they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a p[er]e of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great auaille as is the best lordes, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *p[er]ers*, as if were fathers, for *P[er]* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the *senatores* of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called *counsellors*, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deciding of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgesse, ought to be well aduised that they doe elect and choise such as being to be of that assembly, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, other wise they doe great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his coming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person having voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but having once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for devising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things uprightly, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or mistreating an other in anie vnseemlie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and indouour in wise, done, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requirerh.

Also if anie one doe offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gasses, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which

is most used.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the Kings bench, Common pleas, Chancery, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the highest court, all other courts as inferior yield and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of suites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, upon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and aduised.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnielie he be one of the same house, upon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one coming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entred and cometh in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwarde must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparel. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came other wise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to choise such knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and be-
sides their good aduises can well serue in martiall af-
faires. And thus the Romane senators used, who
being men of great knowledge and experience, as
well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat al-
waies in the senat house and places of counsell in
their gownes and long robes. The like also was al-
waies and hath bene the order in the parlements of
this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old
customes, and good orders thereof were kept and ob-
serued.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in
message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be
brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring
must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeis-
sance, and being past in the middle waite, must make
one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he
must make the third, and then do his message; the like
order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe
come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead a-
nie matter, or to answer to anie obiection: he shall
enter, and go no farther than to the bar within the
dore, and there to doe his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committees
haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order,
reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed
vnto them, and of their doings they must giue re-
port to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be
considered.

Also euerie bill, which is brought into the house,
must be read thre severall times, and vpon thre se-
uerall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is com-
mitted and returned againe, ought to haue his thre
readings, vnles the committees haue not altered the
bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine
words.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altoge-
ther by one consent reiected, or by voices after the
third reading ouerthrowne, it ought not to be brought
anie moze to be read, during the sessions of parle-
ment.

Also if anie man doe speake vnto a bill, and be out
of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance
of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none o-
ther, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie
bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and
then with all reuerence, grauitie, and sanelie speech
to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall
be tried either for allowances, or to be reiected: then
euerie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before
he doe enter into the parlement, and take his place
there, ought to be sworn and to take his oath, ac-
knowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie
gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as
also to renounce all forren potentates.

The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement.

On the first daie of the summons for the parle-
ment, the king in proper person (vnlesse he be
sicke or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in
his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conduc-
ted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and
laitie, and the commons summoned to the parle-
ment, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be
made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other fa-
mous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in
like order be brought to the higher house of parle-

ment, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of
estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degree)
ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancelor, or he whom the king
appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh
his oration to the whole assemblie, declaring the cau-
ses whie and therefore that parliament is called and
summoned, exhorting and perswading euerie man to
doe his best indenuer in all such matters as shall be
in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most ex-
pedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king,
and the commonwealth of the whole realme. When he
directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and
burgesse, aduertising them that the kings pleasure
is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there ac-
cording to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and
elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among
themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them
a daie when they shall present him to the king. And
these things thus done, the king attendeth, and euerie
man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of
the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker
is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in
like order as before) doe assemble againe in the high-
er house, and then come vp all the commons of the
lower house, and then and there doe present their spea-
ker vnto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his
dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his ora-
tion before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as
occasion seruieth, and as is before recited in the of-
fice of the speaker; and this done, euerie man depart-
teth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the
parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and
these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put
in, nor matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed,
ended, and determined, the king commandeth an
end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles,
and commons doe againe assemble in the higher
house in their robes, and in like order as is before re-
cited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is
answered by the lord chancelor or speaker of the
higher house. When all the bills concluded and past in
both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the
lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are
there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his
consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh
good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the
lord chancelor or lord speaker, by the kings com-
mandement, pronounceth the parlement to be pro-
rogued or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last
daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is
at libertie to depart homeward.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Barrie,
well and his complices, hauing better considered of
themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parle-
ment begun with some troubles had his continu-
ance and end with better successe. In the time of this
parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous
complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and
counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of
Dunboin, spaciouus Arra, Oliuer Fitzgiralde,
sir William Dearell, and diuerse others the queenes
good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his
brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and out-
rages which they were charged to haue done vpon
hir maiesties subiects. Wherevpon first letters and
then commissioners were sent in to the countie of
Bilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redres-
sing thereof: but they returned without doing of a-
nie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard
dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to
heare the complaints made
against the Butlers.

The nobles
men & gen-
tlemen in
Downshire
sent their
messengers
to the pope.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Downshire
proclaimed
traitors.
Sir Peter
Carew is co-
manded to
serue against
the Butlers.
Cloughgret-
man taken.

Sir Peter
Carew is in
danger to
haue beane
killed.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
discouer the
enemie.

Sir Peter
Carew and
the English
captains gi-
ueth charge
vpon the re-
bels & haue
the victorie.

lie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gerd, did not appeare before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselves with James Fitzmoris, Desmond, Mac Artie Moore, Mac Donagh, and the seneeschall of Inghillie and others of Downshire, who before (and vntilting the Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cashell and Emelie together with the yongest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing the land from the possession of his maiestie and of the imperiall crowne. Which matter in the end brake out into an open and actuall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the acti-
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on of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who be-
ing accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine
20
Halbie, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his com-
mandement, and first assaulted the castell of Clough-
griman in the Duloogh belonging to sir Edmund
Butler, and toke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the souldiers.

From thence they remoued to Kilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of Dymonds, espieing vpon a certeine daie sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell
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of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peere, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said earls & his steward, coming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turried vp the mouth of the peere, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these
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capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about thre miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie
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well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had married his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discouer the matter, who about thre miles off had the view, and espied a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell arate. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the boldward to capteine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie
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followed with the like haile vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capteine Halbie, and capteine Basenet, seeing and assured that all things were clere behind them, followed so nere, that all the companie euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, there they slue foure hundred Gallowglasse at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mounteins fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and Berms. And of his maiesties side no one man saue, but a man of capteine Halbies was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euer to capteine and souldier carieing two Gallowglasse axes in his hand, but left the spoile to their follow-
ers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his vncles house at dinner. The townsmen of Kilkennie were verie soze for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet nevertheless not long after, James Fitzmoris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being
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well garonised with certeine souldiers, & they themselves well appointed, did so carefullie and narrowly loke to themselves, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Downe, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others the old Fulco Quimrford a gentleman, of long
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time seruant to thre earles of Dymond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monte, plate, and household stufte, besides his corne and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie bene seene before, and at a faire kept then at Eniscorthy, there the souldiers
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committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and dishonourings of yong women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hence they went into Derrie and into the quenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villa-
40
ges, murdered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmoris Desmond, with whom they then combined, and agreed to cause Wexford enough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left vndone, which might anie waies tend to the subuer-
50
sion of his maiesties imperiall crowne of Ireland, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbrued & infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Dymond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble
some state in that land: and whereof no little detri-
ment rebounded to his lordship, by reason that a
great and most part of all his lordships throughout
that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so
much grieue him as the follies of his brethren. For
great were his griefs, & verie much was he vntique-
ted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his
brethren, nature moued him, and reason perswaded
him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed
from them, which in anie waies should either con-
cerne his maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his
house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found sound
and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter
against them herein, he would plead their innocen-
cies, and defend their causes, untill such time as by
credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw
apparent matter and manifest proofes of the contra-
rie. Which reports albeit they grieued him verie
much, yet (as I said) nothing grieued him more, than
their dissoltitie and breach of dutie against his ma-
iestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Where-
fore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards his
highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others,
by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and
reclaim them.

Wherevpon his maiestie, standing assured of his

James Fitz-
moris be-
geir Kil-
kennie.

Fulco Qui-
merrford ro-
bled & robbed.

A wicked man
saue at Enis-
corthy.

A wicked
conspiracie &
combining of
the traitors.

The earle of
Dymonds
lands spoiled.

The god of
the earle of
Dymonds
moued to his
brethren.

The earle of
Dymonds offer-
eth to serue
against his
brethren.

The earle of
Dunmow ar-
rived at
Waterford.

The earle re-
paired to the
lord deputie.

Edmund
Butler sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

Sir Edmund
Butlers
excuses.

1569

The loue and
grauitie of the
earle of Dy-
mun to his
brethren.

The citie of
Waterford
standing vpon
their libertie
refuse to send
aid to the lord
deputie.

The lord de-
putie went
into Clonmell
& there he re-
ceiued speeche
into them.

his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arrived at Waterford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescooth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertised vnto the lord deputie his coming, and with all convenient speed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and late nere Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yeld and submit himselfe simple to his maiesties mercie, confessing his folie and craving pardon. And then was he deliuered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to be forth coming before the said lord deputie at his coming to Dublin: and also promised to do the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the firste of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but Sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causes whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not knowe nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against Sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatened him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lottie lokes, whidlie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would do manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in pzoofe falling out as was auouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which Sir Edmund escaped, and made hieach: neuertheless the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whom he had undertaken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred hereof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling vpon their knees, did confesse their folies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the queens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, repzauned them of their outrages, and counsellled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of his maiesties roiall estate. And there vpon they were committed to safe keeping within his maiesties castell of Dublin, at his highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie folloved his first begun hoisting, who when he was incamped nere Clonmell, where it was thought he should haue bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few soldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their libertie with his maiesties pzogastue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disoialtie to his highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clonmell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the soueraigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banquet in their common house, where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore lateng before them their present estate for example, did moue and perswade them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they ought to his maiestie, and not to be dismayed at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the pzince, and vnder whose all kings and pzinces do rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing viced sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched towards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approaching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselves to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached thereunto and besieged it: and whilst the assault was in preparing, it was yelded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by fourneies he marched and went to Cork, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by Sir Cormac Mac Teger: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokille, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmozis, had spoiled and pzied the whole countie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Ballymartz, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end took it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Foxete, & so he returned to Cork, and from thence he took fourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humphreie Gilbert his maiesties seruant to be cozonell, and besides his owne band of an hundred hoisemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeineernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oath, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Dessis, with the lord Polowe, the lord Courcra, Sir Cormac Mac Teger, Sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freeholders in the countie of Limerike and Cork. And this done he passed by fourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Callewate, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed Sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clanricard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that pzouince yelding to the same.

Thence he marched to Ashlon, taking in the waie the castell of Roscomen, which he left with the ward of twentie hoisemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by fourneies traueled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Captaine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his ballancie and courage was such, and his good hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Ballymartz
a castell of the
seneschalls
besieged and
taken.

The seneschall
escapeth
out of his
castell.

Humphreie
Gilbert made
cozonell of
Mounster.

Sir Edward
Fitton made
president of
Connagh.

Captaine
Gilberts good
seruice.

the courages of all the rebels in Spounster, and no rebell knowe left in effect, which dare to withstand and make any resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a horse boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giving of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitteth himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before usurped this name to be king of Spounster; even he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike unto him, and there falling upon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefest freholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & brightness, directed his gouernement, that he was obeyed of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The which he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these means hauing rid alwaies the most notable offenders and their fosterers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The good seruice of sir Edward Sutton lord president in Connagh.

The Cauenaghs, the ancient enemies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering upon the frontiers appointed to sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simplie to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid upon them. Turlogh Kennogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caluer, by a teacher or rimer of the Donloghs. Whereupon the Scots whome he retained were in a maze, and the countrie standing upon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Whereupon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Spounster in outward appearance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

The Cauenaghs submissions.

Turlogh shot through with two bullets.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: to whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteouslie receive; but also most thankesfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon next yeares date in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knight hood; which he well deserued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the councell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the manner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vse of noble gouernors and captains in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two worthy personages, sir Peter Carew, and sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, borne in the countie of Devon, and of nere blood, kindred, and consanguinitie.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwall, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, of complexion cholericke; from his childehood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leaving him verie yong, and he concluding some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to maineine and keepe him to schole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named misses Katharine Ashleie, who was attendant to the queenes maiestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him unto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behaviour, that his maiestie had a speciall god liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to sir Henrie Sidonie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horsemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made coronell of Spounster; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horsemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oath of loialtie and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectualle to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplid euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and courageous as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrowe giuen nere Bilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which sir hundred were armed Gallotoglasses, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Spounster, which was altogether vp in rebellion; and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troupe of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but fise hundred against sundrie thousands; and enforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humbly vpon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and ouercome them, did most brightness order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of euerie sort. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eie witnesse and daile experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good success thereof; and in what quiet state he left the countrie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certaine matters of great importance,

The valiantnes in seruice, and the wisdom in gouernement of sir Humfreie Gilbert.

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lords of the counsell, he departed. As soon as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good seruice to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie about all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a young gentlewoman, and an inheritor: and therefore he gave himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a tongue at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorne with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse any matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwele of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and unknowen lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his licence to make a nauigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Whelie he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memorie of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

His highnesse
Gubertus
drowned.

Curlogh Le-
nough prepa-
red to invade
the English
pale.

The earle of
Thomond re-
uolteth.

The earle of
Thomond fol-
loweth the
earle of Tho-
mond, and
driueth him
out of the
land.

Lucas Dil-
lon made cheif
baron.

Curlogh Lenough thinking to invade upon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driuen to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Thomond so hardlie pursued, that he drave him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discoverie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie & to the lords of the counsell, one Rafe Rockeleie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This yere the queenes maiestie, considering the good seruice of Lucas Dillon his generall attornie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capteine Peters for his good seruice at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, lutes, and requestes made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Hounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sickness and vna- bilitie of sir John Pollard, appointed to be the presi-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now renewed and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbosheshire in South Wales, and one of great reuenuess and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and unrulie a people, as ouer whom he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they sting out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Sir John
Perot ap-
pointed to be
lord president
of Hounster.

The rebelling
of Hounster
against the
president.

The nature of
the Irishmen.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaythfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faythfull in that they be alwaies vnfaythfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They do nothing but imagin mischance, & haue no delite in any good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land, their mouths are full of vnrightheousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousnesse they walke not. God is not knowen in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their queene and soueraigne they obeye not, and his gouernment they allowe not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboute a yere past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craued pardon, and swore to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mice were at play; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they slipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifalnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornnesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bideled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with feueritie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much vnlike to quicke called quicke silver, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so daile experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraw the sword, and forbear correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentlie, if they can take any aduantage, they will surely slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are vnder their Dublin gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueraigne and prince. But concerning

The nature of
quicke silver,

ting the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailye scene.

The govern-
ment of Sir
John Perot.

His seruice
against the
rebells.

James Fitz-
morris sekerly
for peace, and
submitteyth
himselke.

The civill go-
uernement of
Sir John
Perot.

The quietnes
and safetie in
Mounster.

Sir John
Perots as-
sistants.

George Bour-
chier his
birth and
seruices.

Well, this worthie knight knowing that he should haue to doe with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed together, they will doe no harme: men so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did preuaile in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebells, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besegged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, untill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length inforced James Fitzmorris and his complices to come vnto Killmallocke vnto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his dissoluties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though untill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did forsake, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted vp the fields from these thornes, he entred into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he traueleth and keepeth his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their græues, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his castell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onlie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knewe it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or pceieng.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he began to reforme their maners in life and common conversation and apparell, suffering no gibes nor like blages of the Irishie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptianall rolles vpon womens heads to be worn. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat graued, yet they yielded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bouchier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chualtrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in many places doe make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chualtrie, and especially to the seruice in the warres, wherein he proued

a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horsleman, and as a footeman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streits what soeuer; and neuer leaue them, untill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his daile seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would encounter if he might by anie meanes.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circumspect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapied in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlee, and vpon a truce taken, he was invited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Wiltshire, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was vpight and iust, being not affected nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement vpight, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did marvellous much good in that seruice, and happy was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, Sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and received his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of December one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirtieth yere of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by iourneies came to the court. He was verie honorable receiued, and by his highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie then laie, who (as time conuenient serued) did recount vnto him the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares untill he was reuoked, which was so soone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happy was that prouince, and happy were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happy, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decaye of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

George Bour-
chier taken
prisoner.

George welsh,
a lawyer, well
learned, and
vpight.

1571
Sir willie
am Fitzwilliams
made
lord deputie.

may appere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a special care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, saluting Pounser, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he dreweth the plot of his gouernement into certeine special points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, embraced and followed. When that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Wherof, that his maiesties great and excessive charges to the consuming of his treasure might be shortned, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightly minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the foulbers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

The points of sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement.

Religion.
The common peace.

The saving of expences.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euerie good subject, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plate their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Bahir of Knocking in the countie of Catherlough Caenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Brothone of Malrenham, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preyed the countrie, & burned sundrie towens. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being greued with the death of Robert Brothone, who was his nephew, being his sisters sonne, were as vniquest on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Bahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Bahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about 23 about thirtie persons.

Brian Mac Bahir his warres in wexford.

Brian Mac Bahir hath the victorie of the wexford men.

Thomas O'Harmon.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped; or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnto sought, yet by little and little it quailed. About 20

yeares after, Brian Mac Bahir made humble sute to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his foule disorders and outrages; and yet firmly auouching that the quarell did not begin by him nor by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did thenceforth live and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Caenagh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the countie of Wexford a Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Bahir was a yonger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdome; and none of all the sept of the Caenaghs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him in euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Brian Mac Bahir his submission.

Brian Mac Bahir what he was.

The strength of Brian Mac Bahir.

Brian Mac Bahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

Now he being assured of them, and also being assisted by marriage vnto Helwen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the D'birnes and of the Ameroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer broke his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfully he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awate, and died in peace.

The Dmozers, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie towens and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in aduall rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their harts were altogether imbryed in blood and murder. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countrie.

The Dmozers rebell.

All Connagh in aduall rebellion.

The false dissimulation of the earle of Clanricard.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the counsell inlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the D'chonnors and the D'mozers, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fall into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all wast and desolate. Although Lenough in Ulster was readie to revolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Ulster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set O'donelle in open warres against him. Pounser was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perrot then president so courted and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

The D'chonnors and the D'mozers rebell.

P. 13. was

The distressed mind of the lord deputie.

The death of doctor Weston lord chancellor.

was betwene James Fitzmoyses and all the rebels in Connagh and Ulster, yet he kept them asunder and so Charpelie pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor any followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue appalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancellor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currentes of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and incorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountifull and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. When he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to his maiestie, and lastlie remembryng their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnable & effectualle, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being feruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The earle of Desmond breaketh prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing given his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would ensue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, his maiestie vpon knowledge did cause matters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if any occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatly doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in pounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt any disorder that waite.

The reuocation of the earle of Ulster.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Ulster, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with his maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterpryse dissolved. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vpon any man in the gulfes of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and his maiestie most grationlie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which his highnes by his letters vnto him granted; and immediately he therevpon be (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

Sir William Fitzwilliams

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Many good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But for so much as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the imprinter cannot state his impression any longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserved well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidonie, who now the third time entered into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arrived at the Shirkies the twelue of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no soner knowne to be entered into the land, but for a bien beneu to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make praeie of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he drew a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the praeie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driven awaie.

1575 Sir Henrie Sidonie lord deputie the third time.

The pestilence great in the English pale.

Serlo Boie assaileth Knockfergus

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the euent and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand prevented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delays be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saying *Principij obsta, sero medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of his maiesties priue counsell, as could in that quessie time be assembled, he took order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certelie gentlemen of best account and wisdom, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him his maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, took his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the Iewrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Routs which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

The lord deputie maketh a iourneie into Ulster.

Now in all that iourneie few came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and the being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue her husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without any condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reverence to his lordship, making the like intes as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vising himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifullnesse, subiection, and

Tirlough Lenough submitted himselfe in all humbleness and reverence to his lordship.

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconnell, and Mac Gwiler lord of Farmanagh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruises, as to them appertained to yeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder his highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

The iourneie
of the lord de-
putie in
Leinster.

After that the lord deputie had performed this iourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like iourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamelie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and quenes countiees were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconners and the Omozes, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Kozie Mg had gotten the possession and the setting of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Neuertheless, vpon the word of the earle of Oymond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cashedall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the peare following can witnesse.

Kozie Mg by-
on the word of
the earle of
Oymond came
vnto the lord
deputie, and
submitted
himselfe.

The lord de-
putie inter-
ceded vnto
the earle of
Oymond.

Sir Peter
Carew his
death.

The lord deputie at his coming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Oymond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourablie, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want anie thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentle- man who had bene his agent in all his causes with- in that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the de- ceased knight, and of his countie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recitall thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthy a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and counsellor. And then he toke order therein, thelving most honourablie not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yong gen- tlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determi- ned, the corps was removed from Kozie where he died, and caried to Waterford against his coming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable ma- ner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not imperti- nent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthy gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter
Carew died at
Kozie, & was
buried at wa-
terford verie
honourablie.

Sir Peter
Carew his
life, birth and
conditions.
His descent.
Baron of
Carew.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomerie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Koesius prince of Southwailes, by which marriage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the ca- stle of Carew, whereof his posteritie in tyme toke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honoz and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Corke, barons of Hydron and Akenew, lords of Passon, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seigniories in that land. And

likewise in England they were men of great cre- dit, seruise, and honour, and by waie of mariages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descen- ded from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion chole- rike, from his childhood vponwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he ser- ued vnder, and was page to the prince of Orange beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had god knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruises he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and quene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger yeares a great trauelier, and had bene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euerie of which places he left some tokens of his valour. He was blessed of God with manie singular god gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed euen from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Spanian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countie, ty- right in iustice, politike in gouernement, and valiant in armes, skillfull in the Italian and French tonges, and a great student in such booke as those tonges did yeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in anie matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euerie man, but fall to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring coue- tounesse and whoredome: a great housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if anie fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be soone warine, but without gall, and against his enemie most stout and valiant: fi- nallie such was his vpright dealing, honest conuer- sation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he be thought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted his highnesse therewith; and obtained his fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such god proofes of his title, as well by records as by en- dences, that he recovered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Passon, of which he had bene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chivers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hydron then in the possession of the Caenaughes, the ancient enemies of the English government, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hun- dred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honou- rablie vsed himselfe, that they all voluntarie yel- ded vnto his lands, and submitted themselues to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioiced of him, and counted themselves happie and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first coming he resu- med the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some peeces in free hold, to such gen- tlemen as he thought good; and for the residue enerie of them what he had before, he toke it againe vnder writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into cer- teine

His title to
his lands in
Ireland.

He recouereth
some part of
his lands in
Ireland.

His good deal-
ing with his
tenants.

His housekeeping and hospitalitie.

feine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & trust. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a vertie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene to fore knowne among them; and for which he was maruellouslie beloued, and his fame spred through out that land.

He kept continually of his owne priuat familie, aboute or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for his horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred harnes, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simply to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staid and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar doze was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them interteinement, and bittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present payment he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves hapie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumpect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Palbele, and capteine Basnet, and Henrie Daniels, and their hands, assaulted the castell, took it, and gaue the preie to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they staid out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about three miles from the towne, gaue them the overthrow, and put all the Gallotglashes and the rest to the sword, saving the horsemen and harnes which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres untill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carew's seruice in Ulster.

His title to his lands in Spounster.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experience, brightness, honourable, bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Spounster, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineally from the marquesse of Cozke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truelie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Cozke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his friends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Parret then lord president of Spounster, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to perswade them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the wri-ter hereof to Cozke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Klogh, Cormac Mac Leger, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Orliscots, the Oallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, three thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and coyne, as according to that proportion; and would also yereleie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Cozke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinman and consine Peter Carew, who after ward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Cozke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sick at the towne of Kinsale, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honourable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the sixteenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honoz as to his degree appertained, there being ther present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the counsell. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Desmond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourable receiued at his entree into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratulatory made vnto him in the Latine tongue by a young scholar clad in white attire; verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioy and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the interteinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; and also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honourable priuie counsell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sittacus one of the three brethren, which came out of Spoutwaite, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the river of Suire, which riseth in the hill of mount Desmond, named in Irish Slough blome:

The offer of the gentlemen to be his tenants.

The death of sir Peter Carew 1575.

His buriall.

The receiving of the lord deputie at Waterford.

The description of the citie of Waterford.

blome : and stately by Charles in Tipozarie, where of the earles of Dymond are vicounts : from thence to the Holie crosse, Ardmale, Cabir Dowelke, Ardman, Anllouagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (upon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seventh and inclosed with a strong wall : when Lambert (named Berkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Kildare. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done : who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie perforce and hang the maior. Whereupon hot words grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight : the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seventh and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hills and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie : but that faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeildeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie haueu and a receptacle for all sorts of ships : & for this it is called *Larga porta*. The great or large haueu. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Windowen where Hoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodibanke vpon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke vpon Suire : and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waie : & from the said mouth vnto the Inoslage vpon the riuer of Drie, and so far as the same waie ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Colins vpon the riuer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the waie ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Kosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waie, because they of Kosse doe claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall : who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right was lord of Kosse and of the riuer of the Barrow.

Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second : and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of six knights and eightene esquires, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or haueu of Waterford; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges : That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize : Also that they haue the priuilege wines and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorporated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maior hath the sword boine before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seventh, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all manner of pleas as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of treasons, murders, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maior & officers of the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning themselves, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Kilkennie, Wexford, and Tipozarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a waie coine, vittels, wooll, horses, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to doe the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sense, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, you the inhabitants of Spania and citizens of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and precedents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties : that you maie thereby shew your felnes to be as were your predecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient : and that your apophthegme maie be for euer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. And therfore brag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Jewes did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little auaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you doe not also the like; and in the end your vtter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith : If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwise that light which is in you shall be darkened. If you be the children of Abraham, then doe you the workes of Abraham : otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abraham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his otone peculiar people, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did after sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enemies hands : who put their yong men to the sword, & their priestes to slaughter, their citie vtterlie destroyed, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, carried a waie captiues, & made bagabonds, euen to this date vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his otone peculiar people, doe not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke that

The incorporation of the citie. The priuileges of the citie of Waterford. The sword of iustice.

A controuersie betwene the earle of Kildare and the waterfordians. The waterfordians refuse to acknowledge Berkin to be their king. The waterfordians in fauour with the kings of England.

The commoditie of the riuer.

Larga porta.

The riuer at Waterford.

A controuersie betwene the waterfordians and the towne of Kosse for the riuer of Barrow.

A verdict passed in the behalfe of the waterfordians.

The priuileges of waterford vpon the riuer.

An admonition to the citizens of Waterford.

Waterfordia semper manet intacta.

An exhortati-
on to the citi-
zens of War-
terford.

The princes
prerogative.

The earle of
Desmond
humble offer-
eth his ser-
vice to the
lord deputie.

The lord de-
putie receiued
honorable in-
to Corke.

All the noble-
men in Spoun-
ster repaire to
the lord depu-
tie.

Executions
at Corke.

Euerie noble
man and gen-
tleman to an-
swere for his
men.

The lord de-
putie honora-
ble receiued
at Limerike.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Therefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, betwix by the examples, and humble your selues in all dutifullnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your priuileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods owne ordinances, when he first erected and establi- shed a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute au- thoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeyed: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his ma- iesties imperfall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is im- pertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commen- dations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your re- proch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thanks to the maior and his brethren for his good intertainment, he departed thence by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungarion the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humbly offered him all the seruice he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence vnto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifullnes as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancarr, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Spounster, and their wives, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, mur- ders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that pro- uince; whereupon daillie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie nota- ble and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarmes and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onlie by spoile and rapine; that euerie noble- man and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnbooked and not re- gistred, that he should be vsed as a felon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and with the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all joy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatly they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in god and quiet order, he took his iour- nie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in anie place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and took the like order for registring of euerie noble and gen- tlemans follower, as he had done at Corke. Which

when he had done, he rode thence vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed thoroughlie to do iustice and iudge- ment therein; he referred the same to certeine com- missioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, vntill further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolate, sun- dle of the good householders having sought new habitati- ons vnder Mac William Cugher, and the countie thorough out altogether spoiled and deuoured by the Mac an Carles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopeles) sonnes of the earle of Clanri- card, whose outrages were most heinous and horri- ble. But when these graceles impes perceived of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequels if some waie were not ta- ken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publike seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable cra- ued pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to revolt moze from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties counsell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he took his iourne towards Du- blin, where he came the thirtieth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places con- uenient.

In this his iourne he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a spædie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill government were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the pa- rish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a moze deformed and a moze ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The de- putie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in those some wrath and indignation for this de- filing of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestly prayed his princelie authoritie for redress thereof; and therewith most humbly requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likelie- wise with all speed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a red- dresse was taken forthwith; and the matters con- cerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to arch- bishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the government one William Gerard esquier a professor of the lawes was sent to be lord chancelor, & sir William Drury to be president of Spounster, which arrived at Dublin,

The towne of
Gallewaie in
great decay.

The earle of
Clancarr
sonnes sub-
mit them-
selues.

1576

The ruine of
the ecclesiastie
call state.

Manie in Ir-
eland not
christened.

The spoile of
the churches.

An order for
the reformati-
on of reli-
gion.

William Ge-
rard to be lord
chancelor.
Sir William
Drury to be
lord president,
Dublin.

1576

The earle of
Clanricard
sonnes bzake
out into re-
bellion.

The earle
consented to
his sonnes
disloyaltie.

Shennon
spoiled.

Selfewill
cause of the
rebellion.

Punishment
of the wicked
maketh a
quiet common
wealth.

Dublin, the one the sixteenth of June, and the other the thre and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his come. And then his lordship prepareth to take a tourne towards Waterford, to do the like with sir William Dzurie. But when he was passed a daies tourne, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Deth, who laie then upon the confines of Deth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Gallewaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that baserlie bzod, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sworne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the river of Shennon, and there cast auaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come auaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglashes, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenris, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat auaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, bzake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. And the wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seven wicked spirits, and entreath and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bassardlie boies, and of their fier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courteously vsed, so gentlie interteined, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie perswaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surelie nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bassardlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good tree onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and bziers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be slow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so god a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenched from thornes, bzambles & bziers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrat iniole the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preserved and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallows) according to their deserts are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is swat, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the disoord of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a thiefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors doe neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallows, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended iourneie, and returneth to Dublin, vising such expedition, that within thre daies following he was entered into Connagh. The bzute thereof when it was blowane abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and craning of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thence to Gallewaie, and after he had there staid a few daies, for the comforting of the towne men, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprized and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limerike, where he settled sir William Dzurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Cork, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so bysightlie, and in so honourable a fort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, untill he had either taken him, or giuen him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuillitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the

The lord deputie altereth his counsell, and entreath into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Dzurie placed to be lord president in Thomond.

The gouernment of sir William Dzurie.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

The countie palantine a sanctuary of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposeth to doe iustice in Kerrie.

The lord president entreteth into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapped the lord president.

The lord president giveth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

most loose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuary for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shroud for all licentiousness: he purposed and was fully determined to make a iourneie into that privileged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, even as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed shepe, nor god for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The erle, when he perceived this, he was in a great furie and agone, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compass, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could doe to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granted the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of sixe score, or seuen score persons: and as he passed through the countie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euery mans complaint: and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clowthes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie: had appointed in a readinesse seuen hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapped his lordship; and in fied of a bien venu into the countie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonour to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with verie good and pithie words encourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were astonied at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land: both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselves into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorrow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held by his hands, and with trilling teares praied his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could his husbands follie, saying that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie state: and so praied his lordship to take it. And herein he so wiselie and in such modestie did behaue his selfe, that his lordship granted his request, and temporised with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This grieved the earle to the hart, who hauing no o-

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuised certaine articles against the president, which he with great clamours exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Cork, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Mac an Charles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actual rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vpon in campe and in outrageous manner spoiling the countie. But before his comming they had besieged Ballis Kioagh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Collier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earles sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to recouer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison with in did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and due at sundrie times sir of their principall captiues, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countie; but especiallie vpon Mac William Cughter, from whome they toke sundrie of his castles, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not lacking nor knowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any aduantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursue to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not meete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet many times he met with some of them, slue them, hanged and executed them, toke their prizes from them, and gained a waie their holds and castles. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Mac William Cughters countie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie many of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship reioyced the said Mac William with all the force he had, & could make: who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recouered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castles, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being werie of their abode and intertainment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the gales of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iournies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before received his maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Spalbie his seruant, whome he commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the encouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; his pleasure was to commit vnto him the chiefe charge and gouernment

The earle com- plaineth against the lord president.

The Mac an Charles in Connagh ride in rebellion

The earles sons doe besiege Ballis Kioagh.

Mac William Cughter his countie spoiled.

The lord deputie followeth the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

Mac William Cughter cometh with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots forsake Connagh and returne home.

Sir Nicholas Spalbie appointed gouernor of Connagh.

giernement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and
willed that he should be forthwith established in that
office, & to be sworne one of his private counsell, & to
haue that countenance, authoritie, & intertainment
as was meet, conuenient & agreeable for the place, of
fice, & person. Which the said deputie most willingly
& gladiie performed, dubbed him knight, and made
him gouernor by the name of a colonell of Con-
nagh: thinking himselfe most hapie, that he was
assisted with such a man, as who for his experience
in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and
his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was
sufficient and compleat; and best able, partly by
force, partly by perswasion, and chieslie by mini-
string of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would
frame the rude and barbarous people of that pro-
uince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he
aduerstied vnto his maiestie by his letters, with
thanks for his choise of so meete and apt a man.
During the time of this seruice and being of the
lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Essex, a man
of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin.
Great doubts were made of his death; some thin-
king that he should be poisoned, because he was
then in the best time of his age, of a verie good con-
stitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bene
sicke anie time before his death. But the matter
examined by all the meanes that could be deuised,
there was no such thing then found: but supposed,
that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spise
of a *Dysenteria*, and therewith he had bene often
times before troubled, by the inspection and iudge-
ment of such physicians & others who were present,
it was iudged and found that it was some cause of
his death. Some thought rather that he should be be-
witched, as that countrie is much giuen to such dar-
lie practises. But how far is that from all christi-
anitie, all wise and goodlie do know, and euerie good
christian should vnderstand. It is against the word
of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore
not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed
by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe
of the mind and secret sorow of the hart had hasted
ned that, which no infirmite of the bodie nor anie o-
ther deuises extraordinary could compasse. For
where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized
and taken possession, and which by no physicke can be
releued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the
same to the bodie, which can not indure when the o-
ther faileth, no more than can an accident remaine,
when the substance is gone; or else as the timbers or
albes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consu-
med.

The death of
the earle of
Essex.

Dysenteria.

The fantasie
opinions of
his death.
Poisoning.
Witchcraft.

Sorrow and
griefe of mind.

Physicke
against the
sorow of the
mind.

The vertues
of the earle of
Essex.

He was no more honozable of birth and paren-
tage by his ancessors, of whome some descended out
of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the
gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not
manie better. Towards God he was most deuout
and religious, whome he serued according to his ho-
lie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole
life according to his vocation he framed after the
same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, coue-
tousnesse, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other
notorious crime: a great fauourer of the goodlie, a
friend to the possessors of the gospel, & an extreame
enemie to the papists & enemies of the true religion:
to his prince & soueraigne most dutifull and humble,
faithfull & obedient: his superiours he honozed, his el-
ders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiours
he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the common-
wealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the
poore and oppressed bounteous and liberrall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and
of a great reach; in causes of counsell sound, and of a

deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant
and of great courage, and of so heroi call a mind, that
if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not
bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to
anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of
England. For such a plot he had laid for the regain-
ing therof, that it could not be denied, but if the same
had bene followed, great good would haue ensued in
procelle of time to his maiestie, in obedience and re-
uenues, and a great surtie to that estate, and the like
increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The
more noble were his god and worthy attempts, the
more he was crossed and contraried: but by such se-
cret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part
coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was
the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie
of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts,
for the honoz of his prince, and the benefit of the com-
monwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted,
he whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hard-
nesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sor-
row of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume
and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of
great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the best
vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind
of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a ve-
rie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vn-
derstand, and of a readie tongue to utter and deliuer in
a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well
he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few
scholars better, and not manie so skillfull in anie one,
as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more
noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other
nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it
had pleased God that Lachess had bene idle, or had
spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to
haue bene imployed according to his excellent ver-
tues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or mar-
tiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthy
and beneficiall member vnto his maiestie, and his
whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was
his death most goodlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the
one answerable to the other, even as *S. Augustine*
writeth; *Fix male moritur qui bene vixit*. In all the
time of his sickness, which was about twentie or one
and twentie daies, although he were manie times
tormented with greuous pangs in the bellie: yet
was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to
speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie
and meekelie toke all things in god part. After he
perceiued that nature began to faile and defect, he
yelded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that
his friends and welwillers should haue acceffe vnto
him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by
that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse
men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the
laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants,
before whom he did shew most apparant arguments
of a goodlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past,
and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all
the world, frelie forgiving euerie offense done vnto
him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he o-
penlie confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted as-
surance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased
for him in his blood and death: and manie times he
would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum*
Christo. He spent most part of the time, when the ex-
tremitie of his sickness did not let him, in praers,
and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would
use such goodlie admonitions, such pithie perswasions,
& so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought
he could do in all his life time: for he neuer seemed
in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and elo-
quent. The nearer that death drew, the more seruent
he

A plot for the
regainning of
Ulster.

The earle of
Essex contra-
ried in all his
attempts.

The earle be-
rie well lea-
ned.

A goodlie
hath a goodlie
end.

His patience
in his sickness

His repen-
tance and cha-
ritie.

He confessed
his faith.

His praers
and hearing
the word.

he was in pzofer, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie moze, he lifted vp his hands & etes to the Lord his God, untill most sweetlie, mildlie, and goodlie he did yeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his friends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his euerlasting ioie, and eternall felicitie.

About three daies before his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good friendship past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his friends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his pzince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his burfall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorie of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

The pzinence of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, untill *Polens nolens* he were pressed thereto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie willfull man, notwithstanding he had at Cork yelded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie celsse; and wrote his letters to the lords of his maiesties pzinie counsell in England, complaining much, and pzoauing nothing, and aggravating the taking of the celsse, with most manifest vntuths. And so far he was carried in mistaking the government, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forlorne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his

brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue ioined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which caried the moze likelihood, because his intention was to put atwaie his owne wife, & to haue married himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Mowches wife, & of late for taken by him. Neuer thelesse, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espie out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such readiness to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and pzadisers of vniquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew moze quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whome least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the celsse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue maintained it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowlege, and experience, when he considered the sickle state of that waivering and rebellious nation of the Irishie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to his maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would sing out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appealing thereof, and the pzeferuation of his god subiects, his highnesse was driuen to enlarge his garrisons, and to increase his armie to his excellencie charges, and all which companies were vittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributozie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and pzivilleges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the moze greued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in his highnesse court of the ercheber in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and manner of liberties which at anie time had forsoze bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoeuer: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne moze vniuersallie, and so more indifferencelie; and for the better furtherance of his highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are greued, and therefore doe repine against celsse; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poze that they could not beare anie celsse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what celsse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the pzince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quens price, to all and euerie such souldiours as he is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be verelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselves greued, because they should also now beare a poztion, and

See more of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

His letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

The disagreements betwene the earls of Desmond and Thomond.

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the celsse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir P. Desmond putteth away his wife and marryeth another mans wife.

The gentlemen in the pale began to repine against the celsse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

The records searched for liberties.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

What celsse is.

The malecontents make their supplication to the

lord deputie & council to be discharged of the celsse.

the contributaries: first they draw their heads togither, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and counsell, which was receiued verie willingly, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there griefes, & not to charge the queene. Whereupon at a time appointed the deputie and counsell, where the said malecontents first opened their griefes, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeld to an unreasonable celsse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them at full, they appointed a date, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolved themselves vpon an answer. And when the date came and they appeared, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancelor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in his highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the celsse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be unreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the paying of the celsse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie his maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached; but also to be proued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of celsse by the deputie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuer thelesse, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yeld to anie celsse, saying and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore prayed that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint his highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leave nor denie them to go. Whereupon they assembled themselves togither againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conuince themselves to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said lawyers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subjects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it witten there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative, that all inferiours and subjects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifullnesse submit themselves vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without sitting of his

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged, oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all manner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, which doe concerne the one benefite and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouerthot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogative with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & moze to their commendations, if they had (as the scholers of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it witten that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes doe attribute vnto him all honors, dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogative doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subjects. And the lawes yett themselves do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefite of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *Salua in omnibus regis prerogative*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted, & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Whereupon they made by their supplication and letters to his maiestie, with the like letters to his honorable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Januarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Balkinglas, Co. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, James of Bellew, and Patrike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chiners, and sir William Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Paugle, Patrike Husleite, George Plunket, Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas Tasse, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they pass ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to his maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a celsse imposed by the lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for his maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves grieved therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse, and could not be heard.

The kings prerogative by the lawes of the realme.

The imposed gentlemen send into England their agents to complain.

The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to his maiestie and counsell.

D. J.

Seconda

The prerogative of a prince by the law of God.

the make pphe

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed upon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

3 Wherlike, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounde.

4 Fourthlie, that in the lentieng and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter is referred to the counsell.

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir p[ri]uate counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better p[ro]ue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Bilsbare and Dymond, the viscount of Cormanshane, and the baron of Dunfanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the maner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioined, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserved.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be sorie, and to mislike of their vnadvised proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugne the same: although they wished and did p[re]aie, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the doings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers of the counsell to the articles of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounde and twelue pounde should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vncomfortable to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the aduise of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the Fleet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieued with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the relieving of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse,

Hir maiestie offended with the complainers.

The agents of the complainers sent to the Fleet.

10 should be auouched to be a matter against lawe, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in prejudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadye giuen order for committing them to the Fleet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insubing and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and anow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and anowling to be likewise committed.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and counsell for suffering the complainers unpunished.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to South.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the maner of the lentieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all severitie. And herewith also she was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yielded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen upon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simple, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbear (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogative, to be displaced and discharged out of hir se, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie upon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedom from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sticking, that no cesse

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentlie bled.

The lawyers of hir maiesties for mainteining the complaints, to be displaced.

The malcontents & their abettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand counsell; and whatsoeuer was otherwise set done, was against the law: and so stubborne they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better advised themselves) yelded a submission and praied mercie.

The malcontents are all committed to prison.

Which doings when the lord deputie and counsell had forthwith advertised to hir highnesse & the counsell in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloiall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and having the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the Fleet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capitall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogative) as be supposed to offend in the neereft degree to the highest. These things when they were notified unto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were marvellouslie grieved; but not the one nor the other would give over, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie convinced, and condemned: for which the lord chancellor of verie purpose was sent over into England, who so fullie, effectuallie, and discretlye did resolve hir maiestie and counsell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

The agents for their wrongs sent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland sent into England.

The agents submit themselves.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing under their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties privie counsell, confessing that they had disloiallie and insolentlie, both in words and writings offended most grievouslie; protesting yet that their intent was never to denie hir roiall prerogative, to use the same as occasion should serve, but onelie to redresse certaine abuses; and therefore most humble praied they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had suffered, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without faile or lingering, to the lord deputie and counsell, and there to give their attendance, untill by them they should be licensed to depart. At their coming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humble in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and counsell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the counsell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and counsell in Ireland) the same was after long traaverse ended and determined. But here to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subjects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reime, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and revenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subjects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the counsell of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the insolubling of manie which offended the more.

The false accusations made against the lord deputie.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spread. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their overthow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward græfes, which for a time by the means of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the celle; which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtful state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Hounstler had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to paie anie celle; when James Fitzmoris being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daily looked for to come and invade the land; and when the great ones having hollow harts, and addicted to papistrice, did daily gape and expect for the same; when the disloiall Irishie in Hounstler and Connaugh were combined and joined in these conspiracies; when Rorie Og, Dmore, Conno, Mac Cormack, & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and used most execrable outrages; when some of the best towines in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels; and besides manie other circumstances concurring herewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better hering? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arrivall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; saving as now in respect to save their purses, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had over shot themselves: which upon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and upon their submission were pardoned, in hope and upon their promise that they would never themselves offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the traaverse about the celle, manie things happened in the land worthy to be remembered (as great and sundrie were the advertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of James Fitzmoris to invade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified unto the chiefe of all Hounstler his secret confederats, and they being papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be under a prince of their owne superstition, did daily languish and expect his coming. Wherefore hir maiestie and counsell, having the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, victells, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

The fidelitie of the English pale to the crowne.

Rorie Og, Dmore, and Conno, Mac Cormack, Dconno, and their copartners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began anew to gather their friends and confederats out of severall places, to the number of a hundred swords, which with his owne made aboute seaven score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens

D.g.

haggards,

The burning
of the Haggards
by Kozie Dg.

haggards, poze mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his successe, that leaving poze villages, he went to great towne, as to the Haggards, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonly called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festiual daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Cereus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkenness, and surfeiting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put any watch to ward them. Which thing Kozie Dg when he knew, and having intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asleep, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flankes of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead slees, suddenly awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether unfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, saying that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great joy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuinely an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preyed and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortly vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Kozie Dg
burneth the
towne at
Leighlin
bridge.

George Carew
with
twelve
persons
against
240
fretich
vpon them
&
driveth them
to flee.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be beard with a traitor, and to let him depart vnought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seven horsemen and five shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and forty, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they assonied because it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flee. But at last when they perceived his force to be but small, and too weake to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost fiftene men, and one of their chiefe captaines named Piers Spoinagh, who died verie shortly after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The castell
in danger to
be taken.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saved. After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie towne and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eagerly followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so maintained, and his watch and spiall was so good, that partly by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partly by meanes of the water bogs and fastenesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursuit made vpon him, it happened that a parlie was appointed betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Kozie Dg swore and promised most faithfullie to yield himselfe to some conformitie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Kozie took advantage, and perforce took him and Alexander Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorrow and greefe was conceived of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and daile practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Kozie: for he knowing where the said Kozie was wont to hunt, and by good espials learning where his cooh and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker lieutenant to capteine Furse and fiftie of his band, earlie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Kozie laie, and beset the same. Kozie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenly vpon Harington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and getting in the darke to the place where they laie, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he took as manie as were within prisoners: but Kozie himselfe and one other pyllie in the darke stole awaie and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saved capteine Harington and Cosbie.

The enimie
is driven to
retire and flee
awate.

Kozie Dg by
flight and de-
ceipt taketh
capteine Ha-
rington pris-
oner.

A draught
made vpon
Kozie Dg by
Harepole.

Capteine Ha-
rington is
hurt.

Kozie Dg
escapeth.

Capteine Ha-
rington is
deliuered.

Kozie Dg
burneth Ca-
therlough.

Kozie Dg albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great grieve for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, pyllie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of corne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelve horses which he had in a readinesse, and at a ford not far off he ouertoke them, and killed fiftene or seuentene of his best men, and Kozie himselfe escaped verie narrowly; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intraped and taken by a deuiſe of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunningly framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrick lord of Byrr Oſſerie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secrecie, that Kozie Dg had bene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other household stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would adven-
ture

1578

A bait laid for
the lord of By-
rr Oſſerie.

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Korie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but vntrulie) that they were but few in number. The lord of Upper Merrie, neither beleueing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forcaeking the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laied; and being come nere vnto it made straie, or else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Korie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and footmen, the companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Korie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceived. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Merrie herne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their encounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner done, but two or three hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last date of June before said; and so this bloudie castife, deliting all in bloud, perished and died in his owne bloud.

Korie Dg is
name.

The lord de-
putie maketh
a iourneie vnto
Korie Dg.

The earle of
Desmond sent
for to come to
the lord depu-
tie to Kilkennie.

The earle of
Desmond and
the lord presi-
dent of Houn-
derr are recon-
ciled.

The earle of
Desmond dif-
concereth to

But before Korie Dg was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourneie to the borders of Offallie and Lery, to haue met with the foresaid Korie Dg & his companions the Deconnoys for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were growen into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous speeches against his maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he heliet the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Korie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he took order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without anie warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and vntrulie followers, which harried vp and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrarie to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnseemelie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, leaue he would haue staied him, and haue vied him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reprimed by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeye the president as his maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he vntered and belated to the said lord president the practises of James Fitzmorris, who by the arriuall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of

saint spalowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Hounter and Connagh, whereby a plot was laied for the state of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the utter shew of the obedience and loyalty of the said earle, but in truth more dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means of Dwarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine corners of monte, and maintained by him. The coronell vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Dwarke for them, and who denied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a privat band of footmen, who distressed Dwarke, due his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Wherevpon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased his maiesties reuenues to the yearelie summe of eightene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto his maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukelle was arrived out of Italie vnto Cadix in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous manner to innade the same, and to prouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monte, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was directed another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Peruerthelesse, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against his maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Kosse and Fozon, vicount of the Brough & Kenthlagh, and earle of Welford and Catherlough, and marquesse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seventh Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these broiles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malcontents against the celsse, wrote his letters to the earle of Dymond, then attendant at the court of England, and complateth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monte, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English soldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Korie Dg, which letter was by the said earle shewed to his maiestie, and to the lords of his most honourable priue counsell. Vpon which complaint, because it seemed somewhat pitions and lamentable, and his maiestie partly persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such greuous extortions suffered vnto, reated, made his gouernement more hatefull to that nation, than did anie of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the more oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

lord president
James Fitz-
morris his
practises.

Corners in
Connagh,

Dwarke re-
fusing to deli-
uer his corners
his castell is
taken, and he
submitteeth
himselfe.

Tho. Stukel-
le suspected
to come into
Ireland.

Great prepa-
ration made
against
Stukelle.

The pope his
fauour to
Stukelle.

Stukelle his
honour and
titles.

The vicount
Baltinglasse
complaineth
to the earle of
Dymond a-
gainst sir Ni-
cholas Bagn-
noll.

The earle of
Dymond ad-
uerteth the
complaint of
the vicount to
his maiestie
and counsell.
His maiestie
serueth letters
in the behalfe
of the vicount
Baltinglasse.

The bicont
Saltinglaffe
complained
to the lord de-
putie against
sir Nicholas
Wagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained unto by the said bicont, and sir Nicholas Wagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And upon the replication of the bicont, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proved to anie purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first comming to that towne, had given great charge to euerie capitaine, to forsee that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, nor anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present payment, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, upon such as should doe the contrarie.

Likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had anie cause of complaint for anie wrong or iniurie done, or that anie thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauat his greafe conceived against the imposition of the cesse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified unto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said bicont might be reprimed, and also terrified to profer or practise any such vntreue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said bicont, that because he did not bryoke nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauat his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of his maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reppose and discredit.

The bicont,
Saltinglaffes
complaints
are vntreue.

The whole
land in peace

1578
The sword is
deliuered to
sir William
Dunrie as
lord iustice.

The depart-
ure of sir
Henrie Sid-
neie, and of his
last sayings.

The notable
works of
Sholles, yet
he not ac-
cepted.

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now deliuered from inward and ciuill warre, and from the feare of shuteleies inuasi- on, he prepared (according to his maiesties former letters of the six and twentieth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his re- patre to his highnesse. And so when all things were accordinglie prepared, and the wind & weather so ser- uing, he deliuered by the sword according to his ma- iesties commandement, the six & twentieth of Maie 1578, unto sir William Dunrie, then lord president of spounser. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and councell, and all the nobilitie, ci- tizens & people to the waters side, he imbarked him- selfe, taking his leaue in most honourable, louing, and courteous manner of euerie man. And at his ve- rie entring into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the trouble- some state of sholles in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwith- standing he had in great wisdom, care, and policie gouerned the stiffnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and wonderful works to their com- fort, had deliuered them from manie great perils and dangers, had preferred and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pha- rao, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had gi- uen them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse genera-

tion, a stiffnecked and an ingratefull people: euen no lesse as this noble man, and most worthy gover- nour hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie pain- full traouler both by daie and night, in fowle and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studying, busying, travelling, tolling, and labouring to doe them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most ingratefull and vnthankfull. And offering unto him the like reward as Licurgus re- ceived of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recovered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end redu- ced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eyes. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not one- lie haue bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also done him a further inconuenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offer- siue to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and pa- rentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court travelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other prin- ces courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom the was verie nere alied. This yong gentleman, his father being deceased, and he of verie tender and yong yeeres, was brought up in the court vnder the same maister as was king Edward the first, and pro- fited verie well, both in the Latine and French tonges, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and thereof was concei- ued some good things would come of him: his coun- tenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaisefellow with prince Edward.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he used him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sickenesse, untill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemen arms. Somewhat before his death, the king gave the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: upon which daie also he did the like unto sir William Cecil, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by meanes of which their continued ad- uancement, there entred a verie seruent affection and good will betwene them, with a reciproke an- swering of beneuolence each one to the other, untill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his for- wardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the pa- ragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well besene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

The painfull
travails of the
lord deputie
not considered.

The ingra-
titude of the
Lacedemoni-
ans to Li-
curgus.

The paren-
tage of sir
Henrie
Sidneie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie was
brought up in
the court.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie the
king his com-
panion and
bedfellow.

The king be-
ed in sir Hen-
rie Sidneies
arms.

The king
dubbed sir
Henrie Sid-
neie and sir
William Ce-
cil knights in
one daie.

Edm. Mo-
neux.

of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so virtuous and so goodlie, so discret and so sober, as he was another Scipio; being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finally so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassadoz into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and thwice in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Philip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this his maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassadoz into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

Sir Henrie Sidonie an ambassadoz sundrie times.

Sir Henrie Sidonie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidonie lord treasurer at armes. He was lord iustice foure times. The plot of Sir Henrie Sidonies gouernement.

Religion,

Shane bozne in Ireland neuer christened.

Shane Dineile.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of his maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of his maiesties most honozable priue counsell. But before this, immediatlie upon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land; and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie thre times. In which offices, how he did most honozable acquite himselfe, his acts doe declare, and the summarie recitall shall partly discover and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had daily exercises of psaltes, both earlie and late, morning & euening, neither would he haue anie to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dyonkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papistickall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was bozne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anie christening; great was his griefe, and much was he troubled, untill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherefore he aduertised his maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & prayed for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he joined, furthered and holpe them accordingly to the uttermost. But yet it toke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall linings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but upon such, as of whome he conceived a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. He wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoop, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane Dineile, who could abide no equal, nor acknowledge

a superior, by a draught was brought to his deserved confusion: & whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied upon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the quenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his vntamed spingals he draue to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vnconstant earle of Desmond and all his Stralidines and followers, and the proud and vngratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irishie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Cauenaghs, the Droles, the Dbirnes, the Dcomores, the Dmozes, and a rabble of other like septs, together with Rorie Og, Theon Mac Helu, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subjection. Lastlie, the malecontents against his maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried Peccani, and conformed themselves in all dutifolnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other means might be kept vnder gouernement: he by plithie persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to his maiestie and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and by right iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end his maiestie most gratioulsie granted, and he most iustlicie obtained.

In Mounster therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ice; namelye sir Humphreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthy, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthy gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Dzurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie easilie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capteins, and how by rightlie they ministered law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their severall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings doe at large witness and set forth. The like order he toke also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are his maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all sutors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kindred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to his maiestie, procured them to be removed, and their romes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, atturneys, and sollicitors. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and vterlie vnknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

The Ulster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned. The mightie earles in Mounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

Sir Humphreie Gilbert coronell in Mounster. Sir John Perot, Sir William Dzurie lord presidents in Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawyers placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reuewed and printed.

no:ant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a thorough view, and a revieue to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set by in places convenient.

The castell chamber built kept.

Edm. Molinex.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Dolenger builded.

The towne of Athenrie repaired.

The bridge of Athlon newly builded.

And likewise for the records, which were verie carefully kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without any regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared manye rooms, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lord, as it is in the star-chamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of his maiesties learned counsellors. Whereupon, he himselfe had a marvellous head to conceiue, a deepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tongue to utter whatsoeuer was requisite to be spoken, either in that place, or in any other assemble, which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pitthe reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his brightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide any long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue access vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irish, who thought themselves the more happy, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their Irish law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequently with great policie and wisdom executed the diuision and distribution of the wille, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are used to be in all other countries: by which meanes his maiesties wit had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer before was heard or knowne among them.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernement by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthy, and greatly decayed. This he repaired, and redressed, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Dolenger he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be recified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the deepe and great river of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised by the walles & battlements verie safre.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, appalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his foresaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to his maiestie. And for causing whereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and his highnesse be relieved of the great and intollerable charges which the saidie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase his reuenues and pearcelle receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staid there but a short time longer than he did.

The quances great charges to be relieved.

His maiesties reuenues increased.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was goodlie disposed, & a zealous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pitthe sentences, such perswasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldom or neuer in any disordered or extraordinary choler, bright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euerie deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a lover of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whom he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most loving maister to all such as serued him, whom he loved full dearlie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do any thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were pryncie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in any thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policie. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Mens fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinite respects, as partly by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserved most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most unnaturalie and ingratfullie they haue requested and recompensed him. Not much unlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturall saie) it is done by the mouth, the immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroiethe him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and ready now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most unnaturalie do gnaw out his wombe and helte to his confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This ingratfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the saidie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and

The good betwene and disposition of sir Henrie Shidneir. Religious. Eloquent.

Affable.

Temperat.

Liberall. A housekeeper.

He more of this sir Henrie Shidneir in the English chronicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molinex.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

Safetie,

This was a
troublesome
parliament.

The cattle
pugned.

The corrupt
and ungrat-
full nature of
the Irish-
men.

The fatal de-
cline upon all
governors
in Ireland.

The death of
sir Henrie
Sidneye.

safetie, could ne would be ever thankfull. As besides
manie examples it appeared at the parliament holden
in the eleventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne,
where then lawes were to be established for their be-
nefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and
lewd vsages, which were among the Irishie, they
not onelie did impugn and resist that assemblie, as
much as in them laie: but recompensed the good
things (for their benefitts established) with open war
and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a rea-
sonable and vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for
the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the
English pale; and for the repress of their enemies
which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly
repine and do resist the same. For this is their cor-
rupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the e-
nimie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduen-
ture neuer so great dangers for them, were his suc-
cesse neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If
he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie
thing for their behofe, yet would they mislike it. If
anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would
like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they
would make their complaints, libels should daillie
be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open
mouths they would exclaime, and nothing would
they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit
and impeachment of his gouernement. But truth the
daughter of time, which in the end was manifested;
and when he had yeldd before hir highnesse and
counsell a true and a perfect account of all his do-
ings, and had trulie manifested the course of his go-
uernement, then their glittering golde was found to
be worse than copper, not abiding the hammer; he ac-
cording to his desert receiued thanks, and they re-
proch and ignominie. Wherefore great good canse
had he to be glad and iofull, that he was to be deli-
uered from so vngreatfull a people and vnthankfull a
nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fa-
tall and an ineuitable destinie incident to that nati-
on, that they cannot bryoke anie English gouernor;
for be he neuer so iust, vpright, & carefull for their be-
nefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so bene-
ficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of
it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouerne-
ment and aduised in his doings, they will discredit
and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then
like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be se-
uere, they will curse him; and let him do the best he
can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and
spite.

This noble and worthy man, who aboue all o-
thers had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most
happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone
out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne
native countrie of Chanaan, who theretofore some-
times attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as
a most faithfull, graue, and wise counsellor: some-
times he followed his charge and calling of president
in Wales, which office he did most honozable vse
and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun
out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to ere-
cute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and fee-
ling a decate of nature, and that he did daillie wax
weaker and weaker, he yeldd and humbled him-
selfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting
vp his eyes, he continued in most hartie and inces-
sant prayers vnto God, crauing with a most penitent
hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule
into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the
blood of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue o-
uer, his tong ceased, and his sight failed, he yeldd
vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most godlie
and christian manner the first daie of Maie, one thou-

sand five hundred eightie and six. His bodie was im-
bowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans
chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his
hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intombed in the
tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was
buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of
the same towne; wherein he had created a certeine mo-
nument for a perpetuall remembrance to that towne
& to Eikenhill, to which he was verie much affected,
& made his most abode during the time of his presi-
dencie. And from thence his bodie by easie iournies
was verie honozable carried to his house of Pen-
hurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was in-
terred in all honozable maner, as to his estate did a-
gree vpon the one and twentieth of June, in the yeare
one thousand five hundred eightie and six, he being
then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And
thus this noble and worthy knight, who had spent
the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice
of his prince, and to the great benefit of the common-
wealth, is now deliuered vnto the enelasting ser-
uice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens
he resteth in blisse and ioie with the foure and twentie
elders, who there are now beholding the face of God,
and praissing his holie name for ever.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being en-
tered into the gouernement, and finding it in some
quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow
that course as neere as he could, as which was left
vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land
verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his
entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that
Rommish cockatrice, which a long time had set abrood
vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickens; which be-
ing venomous as were their fire, raised, wrought,
and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie
through out that land. For James Fitzmoris a Ci-
raldine & coufine germane to the earle of Desmond,
who not manie yeares before had bene an archtra-
itor, and a principall capteine of the warres and re-
bellion in Shounster; and wherein he was then so
followed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then
lord president of Shounster; that after manie and
sundrie conflicts, he was in the end compelled and
inforced to yeld and submit himselfe, and to craue
hir maiesties grattious pardon: insomuch that he
came in simple into the towne of Kilmallocke, and
there in the church before all the people did humble
and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president,
and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all
dutifullnesse, truth, & obedience for ever to hir high-
nesse, and to the crowne of England.

When this pertured castife, who for his treasons
and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had
deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of a
mendment hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and
sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard es-
quier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled
into France, and there comming into the kings pre-
sence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole
realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie
would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and
monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of
in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good
countenance, great rewards, & liberal intertaine-
ment, and accepted his offer: but when he had well
considered the matter, and had further looked into
the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris,
who had staid there in the French court about two
yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French
king waxed cold; who in the end gaue him no other
answer, but that he would commend him by his let-
ters to his sister the queene of England, for obtai-
ning of a pardon for him, and for hir good counte-
nance

Edm. Mo-
lineux.

Sir William
Dunne the
lord iustice for
lawerth the
course of his
predecessor to
rule in peace.

James Fitz-
moris an
archtraitor.

James Fitz-
moris submit-
teth himselfe
and sweareth
obedience.

James Fitz-
moris hath
his pardon
sent vnto him,

James Fitz-
moris fleeth
into France
and offereth
the crowne of
Ireland to the
French king.

The French
king misli-
keth to deale
in Ireland
matters.

and perswaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to do that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasses, and about threecore of his shot, and he would ioine with capteine Courtneie who laie then within the bate with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should do the like by sea.

The earle re-
solutely to do
anie seruice.

Henrie Da-
uels depart-
eth from
Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond fol-
loweth Da-
uels and co-
rupteth the
poster.

Henrie Da-
uels most
cruellie mur-
dered.

The faithfal-
nesse of a boie
to his maister.

Henrie Da-
uels what he
was, and of
his conditions

But the earle, being moued hereof, would not yield to this motion, but answered that his shot was more meet to shoot at foule than sit to adventure such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasses were good men to incounter with Gallowglasses, and not to answer old souldiers. Whereupon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traistors: he together with the prouost marshall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fise miles from castell Paine, and laie that night in one Kices house, who kept a bittelling house and a wine tauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were disperfed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose hart was imbued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so nere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men bozne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed, & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wicked deuise came to the house, the castell doore being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swords drawn, and went forthwith vpon into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asleep, but with the noise they were suddenlie awakend. When Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his sword drawn, he was somewhat astonied at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was euer wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonne! what is the matter? But he answered him; No more sonne, no, no more father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, saving a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall messenger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond. This boie seeing his maister to be thus murdered ran vpon John of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crying; What wilt thou kill my maister? But he answered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his maister, crying; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me also. And so saved him as well, and so long as he could. But it auailed not, for Raine and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, bozne in Denon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wealthy house, and being but a yonger brother, and

hauing but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres against the French king, he entred into France to seeke his aduventure; and there he had verie good intertainment, and promoued to be a verie good souldiour. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Barwick: and from thence he was removed into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight constable of Leighlin, and seneshall of Waterford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countreimen, and in maruelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was so hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there. As for his countreimen, he was so deere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a friend, and more like a friend than an vnacquainted countreiman: for he was an host and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was friendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that intertainment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euermore fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he suffer them to be oppressed or iniured: a great housekeeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie esteemed. When he was in office among them, he was upright and iudged righteously; if out of office, louing & friendlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bioord in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie horseboies had free passage euen through the enemies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie occasion to trauell in that countrie throughout Leinster or Downster, if he had but a horseboie of his, he should not onelie passe freely thorough the countries without impeachment, but should haue also verie good and friendlie intertainment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Desmond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at farres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwene them: wherein he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties embraced him for his uprightnesse and indifference. The erle of Desmond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his brethren found such a friend of him, and such intertainment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their friend; and many times it stood the m

The loue of
Dauels to
his countreymen.

The credit of
Dauels word.

them in good stead.

Henric Da-
uels alwaies
a fast friend
to sir John of
Desmond.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were
a verie uncerteine and a notable man, yet Henric
Dauels could p[er]suade with him; and were his furie
neuer so hot, and he neuer so hasty, yet could he ap-
pease and quiet him. And as for sir John of Des-
mond the earles brother, such was his profession and
outward affection towards him, of a most firme
friendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that
the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any
meanes be dissolued. For in what distresse so euer sir
John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Hen-
ric Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie
times redeemed him out of prison, yea out of the cas-
tell of Dublin, when he was committed for capi-
tall crimes, and became suretie for him in great
sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie
for him; Dauels purse was at his commandment,
his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his dis-
position. And so farre this goodwill grew betwene
them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging
himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father;
euen as the other called him sonne. And now see,
when treason and treacherie was entred into him,
how contrarie to all faith, friendship, and humanitie,
the sonne most unnaturalie bereft the father of his
life, and most cruellie murdered him. Who worth to
so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so
faithfull a subiect, the gouernours of so trustie a serui-
to; the commonwealth of so good a member, of a
man most dutifull to his superiours, bright in iustice,
trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vn-
to his friend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all
men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all
good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distres-
sed, and a succourer of the oppressed; finally such a rare
man of his degree and calling, as few like haue
bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie
and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to
God and his prince, euen to the griefe of the traitors
of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of
old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the
gallowes, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy
throate.

The brags of
John Des-
mond for kil-
ling of Da-
uels.

His crueltie
mildred.

The popes
doctors doe
allow and
commend the
murther.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this
crueltie vpon his good friend, he forthwith made his
repaire to James Fitzmozis, and to his doctors and
companie in great haunterie, recompting vnto them
what a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in
murthering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentle-
man, saying; I haue now killed an English churle
(so) so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all English-
men) & said to his cousine James; Now thou maist
be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue
begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to
the matter with thee to my bittermost. James Fitz-
mozis when he had heard him at full, although both
he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the
Spaniards did reioice and were glad of his death,
yet James did blame and abhorre the maner of his
death, blaming and reprobating him verie much, that
he should murder him in his bed, being naked and
scarie awaked out of his slepe, which he said was too
cruell, because he might otherwise haue had aduan-
tage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise
to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders
terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice
before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie
remission of all his sinnes. The earle himselfe like-
wise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie
grieved and offended with his brother, and gaue him
such sharpe speeches and reproches, as it was thought
they would not so soon haue bene friends againe;
but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this
present time, there was with the earle (as verie often
he had bene) one Appelleie an English capteine,
who could do verie much with him, and vpon the hea-
ring of the death of his good friend Henric Dauels,
he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his
owne assurance. Therefore he goeth to the earle, and
dissembling his griefe, perswadeth him to draw his
companie together, and to remoue from thence to
his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles
from Limericke, and there to abide the coming of
the lord iustice, and to soine with him in this seruice
against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing
lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and fol-
lowed this counsell, and remoued from thence to As-
ketten, where he late close and did nothing, but still
seemed in speeches and outward shewes to mislike
with James Fitzmozis and all his companie; and
yet bailed his best followers and soldiers stocked and
repaired to James Fitzmozis, manie of them for
zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as de-
uout as the popes legates and the Spaniards; but
manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for
feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards,
who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere,
and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet
any other thing answerable to that seruice as it
was promised them, began to mislike it; and distrust-
ing of any good successe, did repent and were sozie,
wishing themselves at home againe; but such was
their case, that they could not shift for themselves
to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore ne-
cessitie so compelling, they resolved themselves to
abide the hurt.

The earle of
Desmond re-
moueth to
Asketten.

The earles
chief men
turne to the
enimie.

The Spanie
ards like not
their coming.

James Fitzmozis, perceiuing their discontented
minds, had conference with them, & perswadeth them
to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortly
haue a greater supplie and companie which he bailed
looked for, and all things should be had according to
their owne minds: aduertising them that in the
meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of
three or foure daies iournie from thence, called the ho-
lie road or crosse in Tipperarie, and there to performe
a vow which he had before made when he was in
Spainie, praiering their patience. But in verie trusty
his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into
Ulster, and in both his waies, his nextest waie was
through Tipperarie, and there to stocke and draw vn-
to him all and so manie of the rebels as he could
waage to soine with him, whereof he made no doubt,
but assured himselfe to find as manie ready to go
as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie
with three or foure horsemen, and a dozen harnes,
he passed through the countie of Limericke, & came
into the countie of sir William Burke his verie
nere cousine and kinsman, and who before in the last
rebellion did soine with him, to the great danger of
his life and losse of all his goods.

James Fitz-
mozis persua-
deth the Span-
iards to pa-
tience.

James Fitz-
mozis praier-
ed a pilgrim-
mage.

And when he came so farre in his iournie, being
now about three score miles from S. Marie waikes,
his cariage horses (which they terme garons) were
faint, and could not trauele any further; therefore
he commanded some of his men to go before, & loke
what garons they first found in the fields, they
should take them and bring them vnto him. And as
it fell out they espied a plot of garons plotting
in the field, which they forthwith took perforce from
the poore husbandmen two of them, and caried them
awaie. Whereupon according to the custome of the
countie, the hobnob or the hue and crie was raised.
Some of the people followed the tract, & some went
to their lords house, which was sir William Burke
being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who ha-
uing three or foure of his sonnes and verie tall gen-
tlemen

James Fitz-
mozis sleaeth
garons.

The Burkes
follow the
people.

them at home with him, they take their horses and a few harnes and two shot with them, and followed the tract, and overtook them at a fastness fast by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmorris, whome before they knew not to be come into those parties, to make head to answer them. But when he saw that it was his cousin Theobald Burke and his brother and his companie, who had bene his companions in the late rebellion when sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he spake over unto them, and said; Cousine Theobald (who was the eldest son to his father) two carriage horses shall be no breach betwene vs two; and I hope that you which doe know the cause that I haue now in hand, you will take my part therein, and doe as I and others will doe; and so continuing some speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he answered that he and his father had already dealt too much that waile with him, and that he will neuer doe the like againe: for his father, he, and all his brethren, had sworn to be true, obedient, and faithful to the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would neuer breake: cursing the daie and time that, etier they joined with him in so bad a cause against hir maiestie, and therefore required to haue his garrons againe, or else he would come by them aswell as he could.

James Fitzmorris standing upon his reputation, thought it too much dishonorable unto him to depart with that which he had in hand; and therefore utterlie denied the deliuerie, and thereupon each partie set spurre to the horses and encountered the one the other. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmorris likewise and his companie had the like successe, for he himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he found that the popes blessings and warrant, his *Agnus Dei*, and his graines had not those vertues to saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill him. Thus was hir highnesse most happie, and that whole land most happie, that they were deliuered from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one of his heds. For otherwise it was to be doubted that if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much bloodshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue joined with him. For he was of verie good credit & estimation through the whole land, he was of a verie good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a deepe dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie matter which he took in hand, familiar to all men, and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that baggage religion, that he became a most horrible traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enimie to euerie good man: and so far he was imbued herein, that a man might saie that he was boine to the same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God, to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made known to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he should be hanged in the open market of Kilmallocke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to be set upon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his treasons and perjuries, contrarie to his solemne oth taken in that errour. Hir maiestie, when she was aduertised of this piece of good seruice of sir William Burke and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters of the good acceptation of his seruice, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a hundred markes, to be paid at hir maiesties exchequer yearelie during his life, wherof he took so sudden loy that he sloued, and seemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmorris was brought to the lord at S. Marie weike, great sorrow was amongst them all, they being all amazed and wist not what to doe, especiallie the Spaniards who depart could not, and to submit themselves they would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue ouer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which purpose they would haue followed, if that sir John of Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he hauing imbued himselfe so vnnaturallie in blood, and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned, did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is aforesaid) immediatlie upon the newes of the arrivall of these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Dauiels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie small companie for so great seruice towards: yet considering that the victorie consisteth not in the arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onelie in the good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his iourne, hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Galbie coronell of Connagh, Jaques Willingfield master of the ordnance, and Edward Waterhouse one of hir maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Staffordson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was accompanied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dillon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the baron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine, who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, besides footmen and harnes: and so they marched forward by iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke, where not farre from the towne they all incamped; & then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to come vnto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie willing to come, but untill he had receiued some promise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his lordship being verie well accompanied with horsemen and footmen, he went to the campe, and presented himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew of all dutifullnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas indeed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised by him; yet they were not so secrettie done but they came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice. Whereupon he was committed to the custodie of the knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and fearing least some greater matters would be revealed against him, he prayed access to the lord iustice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and promised and swore upon his honour & allegiance, that he would faithfullie and to the bittermost of his power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the aduise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him: which was in the end the bitter confusion of the earle himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time great troubles, causes of much bloodshed, and vndoing of all Mounster.

While the lord iustice laie thus in campe about Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir

Sir William Burke being made a baron sloued for a shortie after died.

The Spaniards amazed with the death of Fitzmorris.

Sir John of Desmond taking the matter in hand.

Sir William Burke lord iustice maketh a iourne into Mounster.

The lord iustice incampeth nere to Kilmallocke.

The earle of Desmond cometh to the lord iustice to the campe.

The earle of Desmond is committed to ward.

The earle of Desmond doth humble himselfe and sweareth to serue truthlie.

This was a draught made by the lord president.

James Fitzmorris maketh head to resist.

James Fitzmorris persuadeth the Burkes to rebellion.

James Fitzmorris slaine.

Some thinke that this piece of seruice was a draught made by sir William Duncannon iustice.

The conditions of James Fitzmorris.

James Fitzmorris his quarters set vpon the gates of Kilmallocke.

John of Desmond incamped at Slew-lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels upon the borders of Slew-lougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person encounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of service, the earle being best acquainted with the countrey, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But because that place of the present seruice is adjoining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companie took waie into the wood & serched it thorough out, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices coming, and so was gone before.

The date being spent to small purpose, & the night drawing towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and wast the forrage of that countrey, which was one of the chiefest places of refuge that the enemies had. And from thence he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gibbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Cemeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and traouelling to and fro, in all such seruices as was bailie offered to be done upon the enemies, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and took out of the Irish companie one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Puite.

These two capteins had made spall upon certeine rebels, which shrooded themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, upon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice upon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Cotenbyre castell, the said John of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enemies being strong and manie: and his companie weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornuwall arrived at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, besides the leading of capteine George Bouchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose coming at so present a distresse was both iofull and also glabrous.

And nere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some pece of seruice upon him, made verie secrettie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of his Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enemies were daile stronger and stronger, the sent ouer sir John Perot late president of Spounser, with six ships well furnished and appointed,

whereof he was admerall; and William George master portier of the towre and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arrived vnto the citie of Cork. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine hoissemen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to encourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bouchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Spore, and vnto them verie good speeches, to encourage and persuade them to do hir maiestie good seruice in these his affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordingly did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more hee bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more carefull he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studying, watching, labouring and traouelling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being ouercome by sickness, and driuen to yeeld thereto, was determined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for his highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Upon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Spalbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe euerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recouerie.

And yet mindfull of his maiesties seruice, he to encourage other therein, sent & called before him William Delham esquier, William George esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welsh mallow of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vnto the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recover his helth of bodie, but that still decayed. And doubting verie much of his recouerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie coming vnto him, who accordingly satisfied his request. But he inioied their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their coming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before haue bene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a sutor in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle his husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe nere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stood vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissimbling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie shew.

Knights dubbed in K. I.

Sir William Dourie faller sick & goeth to waterford.

Sir Nicholas Spalbie made gouernour of Spounser.

Knights dubbed at waterford.

Sir William Dourie lord iustice dieth.

The countesse of Desmond giueth hir son to be a pledge for his father.

Sir John of Desmond lieth in an ambush for the English capteins and discomfitteth them.

The Deuonshire souldiers arrive at waterford.

Sir John Perot sent to serue an sea.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

that he appeare, to his owne deserved confusion.

The counten-
sance of sir
Nicholas
Gable.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Gable, who im-
mediatlye upon the departure of sir William Dru-
rie unto Waterford, according to the office & charge
laid upon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and
performe the same. For he was able to do it being of
great experience in martiall affaires, having bene
servitor that waie under sundrie kings, & in strange
nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great
knowledge in matters of policie, having bene a stu-
dent in good letters, and a great traveller in sundrie
nations, and therein did observe the maner of the se-
verall governments in everie such place as where he
travelled. He had under him in the whole an hundred
and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to
command; and dividing them according to the ser-
vice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, cap-
taine Dowball, and capteine Sentleger, unto Kil-
mallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie
horsemen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place
meat for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie
counted to possesse. But the more his care was that
waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care
of the other waie to keepe the same. Then with the re-
sidue of the companie he marched himselfe to the ci-
tie of Limerike, where he staied and remained for a
time to refresh his souldiours.

The counten-
sance of
the earle of
Desmond.

During his abode and being there, it was thought
good by him and his captains, to send unto the earle
of Desmond for his repaire unto him, and to haue
conference with him, to understand his bent and ad-
vise for his maiesties service against the enimies.
The earle having received the gouvernours letters,
gaue verie good wordes, & promised much, but per-
formed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe
sent for from time to time, but he came not, but late
still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene
miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not
in anie actuell rebellion, yet it was not unknowne
but that he was secretlie combined with his two bre-
thren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion
and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle,
suspecting the same might be laid unto his charge,
would not adventure himselfe to come in person to
the governour; but still fed him with faire wordes and
frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouvernour thought
good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him,
but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he
incamped himselfe, and so set forthwards to doe some
service upon the enimie, having then in his compa-
nie six hundred footmen under the ensignes of sir Wil-
liam Stanleie, capteine George Carew, capteine
Fisher, capteine Furse, capteine Piers, & capteine
Wind; and he himselfe and capteine Apellie reserved
one hundred horsemen betwene them. Now being
advertised that a great companie of the rebels were
incamped in Conniso under their capteine John
of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being
come nere to an abbeye or monasterie called Spoma-
ster Penagh, seven miles from Limerike, there
appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of
horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand
or thereabouts, marching in battell arate, and had
cut out their wings of shot, and placed everie thing
verie well and orderlie.

The gouvernour
perceiveth
that the
rebels
were
in
the
field.

When the gouvernour perceiveth and beheld this,
being verie glad that some pece of service was to-
wards, he likewise conferreth with his captains, and
by their advices setteth his companie in like good or-
der, and brought them into a quadrant proportion,
setting out his flankers in severall places according
to the services, & appointed verie good leaders for the
same: but his carriages he placed in the rereward,
with shot sufficient for their safeguard, Now when all

things were thus a dreed, he marched forth
the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he
must fight or flye, and that bysage would not beare
out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who
had the holie ghost at commandment, to give them
the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed,
and then marching forward in verie good order, he
tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to
abide the fight, disposed his horsemen, footmen, Ca-
louglasses, and his shot for his best strength and ad-
vantage.

The gouvernour setteth on wards, & giveth the onset
upon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the
first & second volées, & answered the fight verie well,
even to the couching of the pikes, that the matter
stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercelie
& desperatlie set upon them afresh with the third
volée, that they were discomfited and had the over-
throw given them, and fled. John of Desmond, as
a cowardlye person, who (as the historiographer writeth
of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat by
on his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who
sooner turned first, he was the first that was gone:
for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he
could, shewing a faire paire of heeles, which was
better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight
were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one,
and three score others of good account. And in the
chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died hostlie
after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen
was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of
this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom
he knew to be verie skillfull, and also dreaming
the victorie by his enchantments to be at his com-
mandement, encouraged John of Desmond for-
wards: and in the campe in the waie of good speed
would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal
in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God spa-
rim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come;
for his God was asleepe and could not heare. Not-
withstanding, he stood so much upon the credit of his
offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a vic-
torie, and that he himselfe would be the first that
should that daye give the first blow; but whether he
did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the
just reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and dis-
loyallie forsooke the dutie and allegiance, which by the
word of God he did owe unto his highnesse, and de-
noted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish anti-
christ, and an open traitor unto his lawfull prince.
The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present
in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of
Lernew stood in the view & sight of it, upon a little
hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence:
but the whole companies were there, and had part of
the breakefast.

The baron
of Lernew
was
in
the
view
of
the
fight.

The baron
of Lernew
was
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view
of
the
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The baron
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The baron
of Lernew
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fight.

This baron of Lernew eldest sonne, named Pa-
trike, was servant to his maiestie and swoyne, and
served in the court; but had leave of his maiestie to
come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no
sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and
home, but he forsooke his faith and oth to his high-
nesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most tra-
itorouslie bare armes against him, and so continued a
ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth
the nature of himselfe, and of the breed of that cursed
generation, among whome there is neither faith,
nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well re-
sembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe
is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple
and beluet: even so this wicked impe. For not-
withstanding he was trained up in the court of
England, swoyne servant unto his maiestie, in good
favour and countenance in the court, and apparel-
led

The baron
of Lernew
was
in
the
view
of
the
fight.

Jupiters cat.

led according to his degré, and dailie nurtured and brought up in all civillitie: he was no longer come home, but alwaie with his English attires, and on with his bzogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honoured: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

The earle of Desmond dissembling, & his counsell.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the riuer side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there laie that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and ioyfull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraue himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained thenselfe in the same place three or foure daies, expecting still the earles coming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that thenselfe he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire speeches to gaine time to serue his turne, removed from thence to a towne of the earles named Keshill, and there incamped himselfe. They were no longer settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarum made, & sundrie horsemen & foot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enimies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This péece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enimies was to do what they could to remove him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enimies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enimies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

A garison placed at Keshill.

they had a continuall recourse to & fro that time: he before his departure from thence did plant & place a ward in the castell adjoining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enimies verie much: and then from thence he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the riuer, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the riuer, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbies house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the captains what were best to be done, it was agreed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuaade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, using manie good words, termes, and reasons to persuaade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the bitter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roesius the great prince of South Wales by his mother Bessa, daughter vnto the said Roesius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And here with by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Geraldines came out of Italie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Windsor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windsor: and he gave not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

Asketten the earle of Desmonds chiefest house.

A letter sent to the earle of Desmond to persuaade him to submission.

The house of Desmond.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancelloz were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuaading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancelloz might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeld and relent: but leaning his former and wonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofole and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly; netes was brought him that Sir William Dzurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

The earle of Desmond will not be persuaaded.

The earle of Desmond fortifieth his castels.

Sir William Dzurie death.

This

The conditi-
ons and man-
ners of Sir
William
Dunne.

His seruice at
Bullongne.

He is taken
prisoner.

He serueth at
seas.

His seruice at
the commoti-
on in Denon.

His seruice at
Berwike.
He is prouost
marshall.
He is dubbed
knight.

He is generall
of the armie,
and doth a
good pece of
seruice in
Scotland.

He besiegeth
and taketh
Edenborough
castell.

Sir William
Dunne sent
into Ireland
to be lord pre-
sident of
Mounster.

This sir William Dunne was verie valiant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother in kind of waite in the gifts of wisdom, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did grow and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightly excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord primate seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and intertainment: for vnder him he serued in France at Puttrel and Bullongne, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambraye and in Artois: and in the end about Burelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redeemed and ransomed, and then he would needs serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despaire for euer to recover: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaye; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great courage; and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Denon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand five hundred fortye and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwike, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made prouost marshall vnder the earle of Suffolke being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degree of knighthood.

Not long after that, there was a pece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherefore he deputed in his place this worshipful knight, whom he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought meet he entred into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Spanners, sir George Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capitaine, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murdering of the earle of Murreie, he took, spoiled, and burned sundrie forts and castles: and in the end besieged and took the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

In verie short time after, his maiestie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euerie waie, as well for his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdom in ciuill gouernement, the call-eth and draweth him from his office and charge at Berwike, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be imployed in the office of a lord president, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole pro-

vince of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued his highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voyage & repaire into Ireland: & being now settled in his roome and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquitteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuer a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great god liking of his maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmond began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmoris, and the Italians latelie come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifying, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he took such continuall trauels and troubles, & so abused his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the citie of Waterford, and from thence his corps was removed to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Dunne was expired and ended, gaue ouer to followe and actual warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but removed himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abrode in towne and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongest the capitaine thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capitaine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worshipful knight, of whose prouesse and valiantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisdom & brightness in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorrowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull by their spirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be bitterlie deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie feuerall garrison of the most principall capitaine, they would set seuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigofaile, some at Acketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew late, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred Irish and fiftie horse was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narrowly, that none durst to peep nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when bittels wared short within doores, the soldiers, who could nor would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of bittels did increase, so did their issuings out vpon the enemies grow and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enemies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-

Sir William
Dunne is
made lord ius-
tice of all
Ireland.

The rebellion
of the Des-
monds in
Mounster.

The death of
sir William
Dunne.

The campe is
dissolued and
dispersed into
garrisons.

Sir William
Stanleie and
capitaine
George Carew
are assign-
ed to Adare.

The garrisons are be-
sieged and mai-
ntained by the
Irish.

Sir James of
Desmond be-
siegeth Adare.

The Irish-
men came to
incur the
garrison.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering ever lost some of their companie. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to forsake, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteyne, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the date, they toke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betwene Adare and the Herrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteyning to the knight of the ballice, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then late at a castell named Ballilloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two captens had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoever they thought good: in their returne before they could recover the citie, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the ballice, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir scoe persons to the vttermost. These two captens answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and Bernes; and sir James himselfe with others grauenoulie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shewdly hurt and wounded. At length these two captens recovered their bote, and caused all the soldiors to be transported; they themselves being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and toke aduise for the choise of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Delham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundae being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancelor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soon as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancelor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of hir maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knight-hood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of anie countenance and calling, perswading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the yong lord Gerald some and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Packworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the hode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall eye to the trouble some state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iourne into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancelor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iourne towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to vnter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iourne, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwick, vnder the leading of capteine Mallicker, capteine Case, and capteine Pikeman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Peile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a most fall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for restoring ech one to the other the prizes, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cashell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appealing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Spalbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Spalbie and sundrie other captens & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue bolle of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the mayor in all dutifull manner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Ffanings, where sir Nicholas Spalbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Allice Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Allice, and with most perfilent reasons perswaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to be but delafes, toke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The earle of Desmond made generall lord of Mounster.

Sir Warham Sentleger made prouost marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice maketh a iourne into Mounster. The lord chancelor sent into England.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond and the baron of Upper Ossorie reconciled and made friends.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honoureth a brie receiued into Limerike.

Doctor Sanders wicked letters to Allice Burke.

The knight of the ballice his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the ballice a rebel.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew seruice at Adare.

Sir William Delham chosen to be lord iustice.

1579

Sir William Delham hauing taken the sword, dubbed the lord chancelor knight.

that was best to do. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go unto him, and to conferre with him upon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to requite his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe
as followeth.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The earle sendeth letters but cometh not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming in.

The earle of Desmond's butler taken and slain.

The earle of Desmond proclaimed traitor.

First, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certaine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and maintained by such traitors and in such castles, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castles of Carigofole or Alketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspitious, and he for his disloyaltie greatlie suspected.

That he do forthwith come and simple submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he do forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and soine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errors past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crough the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delays, requiring restitution for old wrongs and iniuries, and iustifying himselfe to be a good subiect, though he do not yield to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parle, the lord iustice was removed to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanley & capitaine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & having little pzenailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could pzenaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice removed from Crome to Kaskhill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish thre or foure of the traitors were slain, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustificacion to be a good subiect, he daillie accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaye of time could auailie with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Kaskhill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons
articulated.

That the erle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturalie the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he praactised to bring in strangers, and praactised with foren princes to bring and allure in strangers to invade this land.

3 That he fostered and maintained doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoris, and others beyond the seas to worke these seats.

4 That albeit to the vtter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reprimoung or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smerweke had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Durrrie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordonances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appere by a note found in the port mantieu of doctor Allen lately slain in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castles.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Cusace, Simon Bylan, and others the quenes subiects, for whome he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe captiues, which vnder the popes banner displaced most traitorously in the fields, did assault sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that date carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which do daillie accompanie him; but hath broken doونه his castles, burned his towne, and desolated his countries aforeshand, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daillie looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of fozeners, & daillie solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to soine with him in this his most crecreable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, vntlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Desmond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The procla-
mation a-
gainst De-
mond is sent
to all the cities
in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dis-
persed to Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limericke, and
other principall towne to be in like order procla-
med. Immediately and within an houre after this
proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to
the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from
the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed
with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword
could consume. From this place the lord iustice re-
moued to People Brian, whereupon the third of
November he took a generall muster of the whole
armie; and then he deliuered to the erle of Desmond
two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight en-
signes of footmen, of the which companie George
Bourchier went to Wilmallocke, and sir William
Stanleye and capteine George Carew to Adare,
And then he remoued and took his iourneie vnto
Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of
Desmond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and
returned to his charge. After which departure of the
lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and
his brothers, not able any longer to shew his trea-
cheries, went with all his forces to the towne of
Poughall, where against his comming the gates of
the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but co-
lourable: for verie hostile after, without deniall or
resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels ente-
red the towne and took it, and there remained about
fue daies, riding and carrelling a waile the goods and
household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and
Lisinnen, the which then were kept by the Spani-
ards.

The towne of
youghall ta-
ken & spoiled.

A barke well
appointed at
waterford
is sent to
youghall.

The ordina-
nces recovered
from the
rebels.

White, cap-
taine of the
barke is slain.

The earle of
Desmond was
killed a roade in-
to Connado, &
killed a num-
ber of the
rebels.

The earle of Desmond, as he was aduertis-
sed hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dis-
patched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall:
the capteine of which barke was named White, a
man of that countrie birth, verie ballant and of a
stout stomack. As he was come to the wailes
of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recou-
ered from the rebels certeine ordinances of the said
townes; and being put to vnderstand that the sene-
shall of Imokellie was comming towards the
towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his
men in good order, he entered into the towne at the
watergate, and marched in good order through the
towne, till he came where the rebels were together,
and then more rashlye than consideratie, gaue the
charge and onset vpon them: but the number of
them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he
was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaied, and
there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his com-
panie recouer their ship againe. The lord generall
and gouernour in the meane time, not slackning his
businessse, did assemble and muster all his companie,
being accompanied with sir George Bourchier,
sir William Stanleye, capteine Dowdall, capteine
Furke, and others, made a iourneie into Connado,
which was then the cheefest place of trust that the
earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittells
and forage, and there his greatest force and strength
of his souldiours were seized in the townes and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking
for any such ghests, were vniawares and vpon a sud-
den intrapped and taken napping, and the most part
of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the
most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond
at this present time was there, but not knowne in
his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie
narrowly. This pece of seruice being done, the lord
gouernour marched towards Mac Williames coun-
trie, and bring to go through a certeine passe, he met
with the senehall, vpon whome he gaue the charge,
who answered the same verie ballantlie, and the
skirmish was verie hot, in which the senehall was
killed, and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like
also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though
not so manie, amongst whom capteine Zouches
trumpetor was one; which so grieved the lord gene-
rall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and
villages in that countrie and about Lisinnen, which
in any waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or
of any of his frends and followers, to be burned
and spoiled.

From this he took his iourneie towards Cork,
and in his waie at Dunsenning he took a pece of
one thousand five hundred kine or cowes, which were
all oxen and sent vnto Cork, at which citie as he
as his lordship was come, and had rested a small
time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided
and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons
and places conuenient, as which might best answer
the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied
with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furke, he
went to Castell, and by the waie he took the maior
of Poughall, whome forthwith he examined, and for
his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yeld
by the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refus-
ed a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to
lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof,
and had promised that he would keepe and defend the
same against all men; he carried him along with
him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doze
hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into
the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and
no one man, woman or child therein, saving one fri-
er, whome he spared, because he had fetched the corpes
of Henrie Danels from Traleigh, and had caried it
to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancel of
the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittens
the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the
reedifying of the wailes and gates, and placed therein
a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine
Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good ser-
uice in the countrie, and by good means drew home
the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the
towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed
thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and
opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the
capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembering
that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and
quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hi-
therto nothing done or said vnto them; it was a-
gread betwene his lordship and the capteins, to do
some seruice vpon them, and to trie their valie:
whereupon they marched thither and laid siege ther-
vnto.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and
had also verie good espials abroad, they were forth-
with aduertised that a companie of souldiers were
drawing and marching towards the said castell, and
when they themselves saw it to be true, and had dis-
couered them, they began to distrust themselves, and
to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them.
Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they
passed ouer the water, thinking to recouer the woods
and

The earle of
Desmond in
danger to be
taken.

The maior of
youghall hanc-
ged before his
owne doze.

The towne
of youghall
all desolate.

The inhabi-
tants reuoked
to dwell and
inhabit the
towne.

The Spani-
ards lying in
Strangicallie
forsake their
fozt and in-
firing are
slaine.

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they overtoke them, and slue all oꝝ the most part of them, and so toke the castell, wherein the lord gouernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abode, the garrison minding to do some seruice vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and vpon an aduantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were inforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staves to stand to their defenses, which they did so baliantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was dyuen to giue ouer and to fle.

The earle of Desmond is slain in an ambush.

The diligent service of the earle of Desmond.

A sickness in the campe.

All the countie is preyed.

Sir William Winter given protection.

Sir William Winter kept the seas.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Polingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their severall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord gouernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the foremost, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Botevant a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sickness came among the souldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboute thre hundred of them sicke, and for thre daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sickness not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuided his companie into two parts, the one he toke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Island; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into thre parts, & so marched to Dingle a cuse. And as they went they dyane the whole countie before them vnto the Wentrice, & by that means they preyed and toke all the cattell in the countie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides hoxses, garrons, sheepe, and goates, and all such people as they met they did with out mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were dyuen to such extremities, that for want of vittells they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Neuerthelesse, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter vice-admerall of England was newlie arrived with the quenes ships at the Wentrice, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat prejudiciall to his maiesties seruice: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had followed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William, viceadmerall of England, vpon the newes reported to his maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their coming, and as occasion serued to do his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittells waxed scant; and se-

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwike, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leaving the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwike bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad hoisemen met his lordship; and from thence he travelled by Iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorable receiued. And to the end to encourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the copozation certeine branches and articles, wherof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The lord iustice with the Berwike bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honorable receiued into Gallewaie.

The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

First, that no writ of *Sub poena* shall be awarded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwile than as they in times past haue vsed to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne do vse anie vndecent & vnrerent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall introy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Mleigethe*.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and hauen, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the walles.

That the maior from time to time do take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnserviceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittells from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittells to be kept there at all times.

From

William Poys newlie came out of England, namely the lord justice.

Captaine Poys sent to the lord justice.

John Henry Harington, who had married one of his daughters, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-shall of the Shires.

The proud letters of the earle of Desmond.

The lord justice sent out of Dublin the eighth of Januarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that service, and toke his journey along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Linneterne in his waite he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Januarie 1579, by water from Wallibacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maiors of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanley, sir Peter Carew, and captaine Piers, issued out of the citie with their four bands, and nere to the shore in the botes of his lordship, they presented him with a solie salueth, and so reficed themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and curtains of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike manner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers upon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

The lord justice returned about the ninth of february.

From thence his lordship by sundrie iournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the citie, William Poys newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the shewe, where he died verie shortly after upon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleen corrupted, and his baine hurt with filthie matter. His hands were discolored and deliuered to either captaine. And immediatlie upon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wellingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord justice into shounker as he was commanded; but upon his submission after foure daies he was released. And upon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-shall of the Shires, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of November 1579, to the lord justice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holiness and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore perswaded the lord justice to ioinie with them.

The lord justice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernment of the erle of Hilbare, he made a new iourneie into shounker, and departed out of Dublin the eighth of Januarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that service, and toke his journey along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Linneterne in his waite he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Januarie 1579, by water from Wallibacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maiors of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanley, sir Peter Carew, and captaine Piers, issued out of the citie with their four bands, and nere to the shore in the botes of his lordship, they presented him with a solie salueth, and so reficed themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and curtains of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike manner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers upon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maiors and aldermen arated in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented unto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered unto them againe, and the sword the maiors bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie upon two severall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made unto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Desmond came unto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Poys gaue of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungaruen and Baggall. Whereupon one hundred horsemen vnder captaine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred souldiers under sir William Stanley, sir Peter Carew, captaine George Carew, & captaine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord justice from Waterford, upon notice of the trouble daile increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of february, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not worth ten pounds in goods; also that upon good causes he maie parlee and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & sturdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlaws and theues, and execute all sole persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man doe deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he doe euerie moneth certifie the lord justice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord justice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he removed and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the fiftenth of february 1579, and from thence he went by iourneies unto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike upon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Ierrie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was upon some suspicion committed prisoner unto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came unto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enemie. Which when they had agreed upon, they passed the next morning ouer the brydge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathell. Now when they had amended the brydge which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connello, where the lord justice and the earle of Desmond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant unto captaine Fenton, coming from Limerike with five horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the garison at Adare, he was set upon at Rathell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge fiftene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the captaine bryther, and Guidon, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enemie the repulse, and slue their leader, with slue or sir others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot upon the spurre, & so eager upon the bile rebels, that

The articles of a commission for the marshall law.

The chancelor of Limerike sent to ward for treason.

The bishop committed prisoner to his owne house.

Nicholas Parker bryther was slain by the rebels.

Clonmell

Clonmell

Clonmell

Clonmell

Clonmell

Clonmell

th at day they spared neiſher man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the ſword. The ſame daie, a ſouldier of the marſhals incountered with two luſſie kernes, the one of them he ſlew, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellowes head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head alſo was cut off and laid by his fellowes. The next daie following, being the twelſe of March, the lord iuſtice and the earle diuided their armie into two ſeueral companies by two enſignes and thre together, the lord iuſtice taking the one ſide, and the other taking the other ſide of Slewbougher, and ſo they ſearched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the ſame night with all the caſtell which they found that daie.

And the ſaid lords, being not ſatiſfied with this daies ſeruiſe, they did likewiſe the next daie diuide themſelues, ſpoiled and conſumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerneu came to the earle of Dymond, whome the earle in the next morning brought beſore the lord deputie, where he in moſt humble maner yelded, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his lordſhips deuotion, promiſing and preſenting his ſeruiſe with all buſfulneſſe. And then, when after great trauels they had maruellouſly waſted and ſpoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofſe, and to laie ſiege to the ſame: for in it laie the greateſt force of the Deſmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This caſtell ſtandeth in the riuer, and at euerie full ſea both it and the bannes about it are inuironed with the ſaid floods and ſlowing waters. Aſſone as they were incamped, the lord iuſtice approached the caſtell ſo nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordingly he might conſider the moſt fitteſt places for the laſeng of the ſhot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine ſhot, and to go with him in this ſeruiſe. Now the Spaniards hauing eſpied them, ſpent manie ſhot vpon them, and where the lord iuſtice verie hardlie eſcaped with his life, and from being ſlaine with a muſket ſhot. When his lordſhip vpon this view had determined what he would do, he cauſed the canon ſhot to be planted in the place moſt fit for the batterie, for otherwiſe the ſort was not to be aſſaulted.

In the ſame were ſixtene Spaniards and ſiſtie others vnder one Iulio an Italian, who at the requeſt of the counteſſe of Deſmond vndertoke the keeping of it, and who reported himſelfe to be a verie notable engineer: ſtanding vpon his reputation, he pled the campe with continuall ſhot, putting out an enſigne and railing with manie bad ſpeeches againſt hir maieſtie; declaring alſo that they kept it for the king of Spaine and ſo ſtill would, untill further aid were ſent from him: and which in verie deed was daile looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be vnladen, they ſpent the time, occupieng the one the other with ſuch deuiliſes as they thought good for the ſeruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often ſhot hurt and kill ſome Engliſhmen, namelye a ſouldior of ſir George Bouchiers, one of ſir Henrie Wallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and ſir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night paſt, was hurt with a muſket ſhot out of the caſtell in the necke. Aſſone as the ordinance was vnladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the ſort with thre canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in ſhort time they ſo beat it, that the houſe fell and filled the ditch: by meanes whereof the ſame became to be aſſaultable.

Capteine Spactwozth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the viſter banne by a doze that the ſouldiors had broken, and was maſter of it preſentlie. The Spaniards therupon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & ſome fought other places to hide and to ſaue themſelues, but that part of the caſtell was beaten downe: and then capteine Spactwozth recovered the poſſeſſion of the whole, and did put ſiſtie to the ſword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and ſir others he toke, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were ſaued that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whome the lord iuſtice kept for certeine conſiderations two or thre daies: but in the end he was hanged as the reſt were beſore him. The next daie, being the fiſt of Aprill one thouſand ſiue hundred and foureſcore, the ordinances were remoued and caried to the ſhip, which with all ſuch ſouldiors as were ſicke and hurt were ſent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This caſtell, one of the principalleſt and chiefeſt ſorts thus recovered, there reſteth onelie the houſe and caſtell of Aſketten: and the lord iuſtice, and the earle of Dymond thought nothing moze neceſſarie, than euen forthwith to march to Aſketten, and to incampe there and to beſiege it, euen as they had done to this ſort of Carigofſe. Where when they came, the two lords diuided themſelues, the one taking the one ſide, and the other taking the other ſide of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the ſaid caſtell, the lord iuſtice lieng in the abbey, and the earle of Dymond vpon the further ſide of the riuer.

The lord iuſtice viewed the place, and found no waie poſſible to place anie watch or ward nere to the caſtell, by reaſon of the great diſaduantage of the rockes which laie altogether vpon the caſtell. While the campe laie there, ſir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue ſiege vnto the caſtell of Ballilloghan, a ſtrong houſe of the Deſmonds, and which was warded untill this time againſt hir maieſtie. The ward had no ſoner the ſight and view of theſe thre enſignes, but that they fired the houſe and fled: but they were ſo narrowlie purſued, that the leader of them and ſome of his companie were overtaken and ſlaine. Whileſt the ſiege laie at Aſketten, ſir Henrie Wallop treaſurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie ſame night following, being a verie darke and cloſe night, the warders of the caſtell ſearing the example of the execution done at Carigofſe, and doubting the ſequelle of the lord iuſtice preparation made for the batterie to be laid againſt it, did abandon and forſake the caſtell verie ſecretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to ſet it on fire, which conſumed & burned a great part of the ſame: but the principall towers remained vntouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night eſcaped into the woods.

This caſtell thus recovered, the earle of Deſmond had neuer a caſtell in all ſpounſter which was warded againſt hir maieſtie: but all were now at hir deuotion. The lord iuſtice being poſſeſſed of Aſketten, he appointed a ſtrong garrion to reſide there, and placed ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Henrie Wallops companie in the caſtell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingwozth to be in the abbey, and ſo vpon the fiſt of Aprill he diſlodged with the reſt of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both ſides of the riuer, that the botes might paſſe ſaſelie to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now ſeeming to be at peace, the earle of Dymond returned home to Kilkenite, & certains of the countie cell

Capteine Spactwozth ſiſt entred the caſtell.

The caſtell of Carigofſe is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The caſtell of Aſketten appointed to be beſieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew beſiege the caſtell of Ballilloghan.

The warders forſake the caſtell.

The warders of Aſketten forſake the caſtell, and by a traine ſet it on fire.

The caſtell of Aſketten is taken.

A ward placed at Aſketten.

The armie is diſperſed, and the garrisons

The baron of Lerneu ſubmitteth himſelfe.

The caſtell of Carigofſe is beſieged.

The lord iuſtice and capteine Carew take the view of the caſtell.

The caſtell beſieged.

The proud brags of the Spaniard.

The caſtell is battered with ſhot.

are sent to
their places
appointed.

cell which had followed in this tourne rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Spalte departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a pzeie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and verie good stoze of sheepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

A commission
to create sir
William
Burke to be
baron.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike, vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued hir maiesties commission under the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the councell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a pearlie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Mounster, traouelling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his severall garrison doing such seruice vpon the rebels as by occasion was offered. The lord iustice vpon the fifteenth of June, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggie mountaine of Slewlongher into Kierie, and there he discovered a great pzeie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the bowward of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke about two thousand kine, besides stoze of sheepe and garons, with part of the traitors masking aparell.

The earle of
Desmond and
his wife and
doctor Sanders
in perill
to be taken.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their priest for half was faine to leaue his gowne behind. The like seruice he did the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongst the souldiours vnder sir George Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond; which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Mulkroie, and toke a great pzeie from the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother Donnell assembled his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the pzeie, and recovered the same: sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonour and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

A mutinie
among the
souldiours
for lacke
of vittells.

Sir Cormac
Mac Teige
doth a pzeie
of seruice
vpon
sir James of
Desmond.

Sir James
of Desmond
in taking
of a
pzeie
taken
prisoner
and
executed.

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaved himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the pzeie was recovered, and sir James himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being about a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and overthrowne. He that toke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of certaine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secretly hid him in a certaine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, until, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and councell, he did deliuer him vnto sir Ma-

ham Bentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addrest) was examined, indicted, arraigned, and then vpon iudgement gaue, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was together with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the pzeie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost another of his heads.

Sir James
of Desmond
sent to sir
warham
Bentleger
& to capteine
Raleigh, and
was executed
to death.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and councell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued verie frendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Kicough, and they both a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Mowe now earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie esteemed in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in that land. For albeit a mere Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English government, & whatsoever his outward appearance be, yet his inward affection is corrupt and naught: being not unlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a noble princeesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbear to snatch at him: and as the ape, though he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yield himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he ever desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requisite and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselfe, euen as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir James of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquittal against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William ffitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him shiriffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelue of August, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and praising that the same might be so acceptablie received, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an intzaging vnto others to do the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue done the like seruices.

Jupiters cat,

The loialtie
of sir Cor-
mac Mac
Teige.

Sir Cormac
Mac Teige
made knight.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaie the earle himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to relaeue themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued, and by reason the haruett was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers preyed from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and preyed; the poore people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch colwes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the gods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the

The miserie
of the people.

The fate of
the countesse
of Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond
minded to
goe with the
vicount Wal-
tinglasse.

Sir John of
Desmond and
doctor San-
ders in shew-
ing to be la-
ken.

The earle and
his countesse
in danger to
be la-
ken.

Sir George
Boucher co-
ronell of
Apountier.

This force is
both of the
princes paie,
and of the lord
of the pro-
vince.

the famine wherewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that whereof they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fleeth from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewaied the miserable estate of his husband, his selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable request) sute, that his husband might be taken to subaillison.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distress, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the adventure, to passe for their refuge to the vicount Waltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to do some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they took two, the one being a squire named James Haie and standardebearer to the late James Fitzmorris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the squire was referred, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcassell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Abare and Alketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, date, and time appointed; for a speciall pcece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they took their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewaied the matter, and yet for haile they left their breakfast behind them halfe dyessed. Neuertheless, they took two preies, the one of fiftene and the other of eigheteene hinde; and the next daie they took another preie of two hundred hinde, due diuerse traitors, and took two squire, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare footed squire, and he a lustie hazzard: and then his lordship returned to Alketten, where he left maister Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by maister Touch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the counsell at Limerike, he appointed sir George Boucher coronell of all Apountier, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole province; & had left vnto him the charge (under his gouernement) of the whole forces in Apountier; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourescore and fiftene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Marham Senileger, and the earle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he took his iourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the counsell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arrivall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Waltinglasse, and Thcon make Hugh, the chiefe of his ser of the Obzins, were lieng in the Obzins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the compaignie of capteine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellon, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obzins. And he nothing regarding now, either the datie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorously resolued from his lawfull prince, and contoineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against his maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without ante reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise anye maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselves in the fastnes of the Glunnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a ballie or a combe lieng in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and cruill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hills, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honoz to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a compaignie of traitors shoul lie so nere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolved himselfe to haue a pcece of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glunnes, & giueth order to sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Atwelle, and to John Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furke with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie capteine of the kerne, and George Apore an old veteran of Berwik, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his compaignie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the five & twentieth of August, they entered the Glunnes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Walingfield, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horsebacke scaled vpon the mountaine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiralde, having some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he beset himselfe and placeth all his men with their peeces amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euery side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the vaward, both capteins and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despaiere to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue bene

The vicount
of Walting-
lasse lieth in
the Glunnes
with the re-
bels.

The strength
of the fastnesse
in the Glunnes

A seruice ap-
pointed to be
done against
the Obzins.

The lord de-
putie scaled
vpon the
mountains.

Q. j. killed;

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose comming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men slaine in the Glennes.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Jaques Wingfield his wisdom to wards his nephews.

In this conflict, George Poze, capteine Andleie, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew cozonell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and enforced to lie downe: whom when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saued him, and made request for him, they thinking that moze profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, as soon as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, perswaded with his two nephews, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his uncle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saued and preserved.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a græuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the comming of the lord iustice; who as soon as he was returned, then the lord Erie was sworn, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be moze watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell arae, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euery man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselves, and forsooke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irisherie, they remoued themselves from thence to Glaniningell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertooke some of them, vpon whom he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whom he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glaniningell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mounteines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

The companie of the Spaniards not aboue seven score.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe: lie arrived, and how that they were intertained: requesting that the supplie appointed before their comming from home, might with all speed be sent auaie, and for which they did baslie looke: because it was throughlie concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, to make a thorough conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to do the like with England. And mozeouer, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and moze is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Waters, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his tooles, can do anie thing in his profession: no moze can the souldiour fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessities: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of threescore men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin moze baslie than aduised, and moze rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by iournetes he came to Keshell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteins Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Martworth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staid behind, minding to praetise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a manner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever anie English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lying, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the comming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their manners and old vsages to the said place, and there took

The determination of the pope and king Philip, to make a thorough conquest of Ireland.

The earle of Desmond incampeth at the fort.

The earle for lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards issue out and giue a skirmish.

The lord deputie cometh to Keshell, and is there met by the earle of Desmond.

tooke their pleasure; who when they were in their securitie, the capteine and his men came vpon them, and tooke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they used in sted of halters: and being demanded what he would doe with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vpon English churles: for so they call Englishmen. As it so (quoth the capteine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish herne: and so commanded him to be hanged vpon with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie mar- chey to the fort, and be- segeth it.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards make a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is better vpon the land side.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of England: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadmirall capteine Bingham came into the baie of saint Marie weke or Smereeweke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before anie assault given, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doe, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land, & required therewith to yeld vpon the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therefore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and lated for the batterrie; and betwene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by capteine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to capteine Kaleigh: & these so valiantlie behaved themselves, and so worthilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betwene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be buloden certeine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of his maiesties ships, which then laie in the rode of Smereeweke, and then there being a great banke betwene the thores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterrie was ready to be giuen. A pece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worthy great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a pece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercie if they would yeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterrie was capteine Kaleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their bags, that they cared not for this; and to let a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterrie. The fourth daie was capteine Zouches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentleman named John Cheke, who dyed so nere the fort,

John Cheke is slain.

The fort is battered on euery side.

The Spaniards desire a parlay.

Capteine wingfield is sent to the fort.

The prisoners in the fort decreased.

that he looked ouer the purpozt into it, which being seene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a pece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterrie were draiue and brought so nere vnto the fort, that now they left to dally anie longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued, and seeing also the batterrie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlay with the lord deputie, who vterlie denied it: saying, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parlays are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. When they requested that certeine particular men among themselves might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring anie absolute yelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile anie waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeld both themselves and the fort, without anie condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent capteine Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the capteine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doe the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laid their pikes acrosse vpon the same. Which being done, the said capteine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the capteine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgiraldo knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the earle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the capteine had yelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capteine Kaleigh together with capteine Spactworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cleere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what pleased

Q.ij. sed

sed him, his lordship returned, and made of the captives he saved. The fort forthwith was raised, the arms and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the colonell and campeimaster over into England by capteine Dente, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or five castles, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

And here the earle of Desmond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so requited. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernour of Kertie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Calh, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hence his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentieth of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred & eighth. At which time there arrived out of England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Berkleie, capteine Cruse, capteine Herd, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordship bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkleie onelie of the capteins remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Alketen, the chiefeest castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselves, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also inue upon them: yet see how that the venemous Hydras had no sooner lost one of his heads, but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are sprung vp. For at the verie instant, the bassardlie brood of the earle Clanricard, the vicount of Balinglasse, associated with the Oshins, Omozes, and Keuenaghs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great peece of Leinster are in arms and actuall rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quietest.

Capteine Berkleie came into Ireland, and laie at Alketen.

Connagh, Leinster and Mounster, are all vp in rebellion.

The earle of Desmond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The cleargies band doe arrive into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

Ophalia whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Deconhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, untill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

The earle of Desmond is kept by the Deconhours.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he coniectured that this was but a surmised and colorable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eyes: wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the young lord was willing to come, but the Deconhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, unless they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Desmond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Deconhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White master of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other capteins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Ophalia; where after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the young lord. Nevertheless afterwards the Deconhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Husten and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would inue, euen as the earle of Desmond had partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the stealing of the sonne might be prejudiciall to the father; then in all hast did send the young lord to the earle of Desmond, who carried him to Dublin, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, untill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was carried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his ancestors.

The earle of Desmond is sent for the young lord.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne and sonne in law are sent into England. The earle died in London.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Cozke, and nothing liking the outrages, bodzages, and villanies baslie practised by Barrie, Condon, and others vpon the good subjects and his maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consort were such, that unless they were proclaimed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent thereof would be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subjects, & to the incouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a height, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

Capteine Raleigh complaineth against the sufferance of the rebels.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seise and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done herein, he had certaine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: wherevpon he returned. But before he was come backe to Cozke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delays were vsed to hinder the good seruice purposed, that his commission auailed him verie little or nothing, for the castell of Barrie was committed

Capteine Raleigh hath a commission, & the enlargement of a band of horsemen to pursue the enimie.

David lord Barrie burnt and spoiled his owne house.

Capteine
Kaleigh is
said for by the
seneschall.

The seneschal
followeth cap-
taine Kaleigh.

The distressed
state of Henrie
Spolke.

The coward-
nesse of the
seneschall.

mitted and deliuered to the custodie of the mother of the said David Barrie, and by hir set ouer vnto him hir sonne; and who forthwith burned and de faced the said castell being his principall house, as also wasted the whole countrie, and became more worse and outrageous than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne vnto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose countrie he was to passe, laie in ambush for him to haue intraped him betwene Boughall and Corke, lieng at a fozd, which the said capteine must passe ouer with six horsemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little mistrusting anie such matter, had in his companie onelie two horsemen and foure shot on horsebacke, which was too small a force in so doubtfull and dangerous times: neuer thelesse he had a berie good guide, which was the seruant of John Fitzedmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and starting hole in those places.

The capteine being come towards the fozd, the seneschall had espied him alone, his companie being scattered behind, and berie fiercelie pursued him, and crossed him as he was to ride ouer the water, but yet he recovered the fozd and was passed ouer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed, he shifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell fast by, thers to saue himselfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Spolke, riding alone about a bowes shot before the rest of his companie, when he was in the middle of the fozd, his horse foundered and cast him doune; and being afraid that the seneschalls men would haue folowed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to saue his life; who not respecting the danger he himselfe was in, came vnto him, and recovered both him and his horse. And then Spolke couetting with all hast to leape by, did it with such hast and vehemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was taken by the enimie. The capteine neuer thelesse staid still, and did abide for the comming of the rest, due of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who had about two hundred pounds in moneie about him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, hauing his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercelie folowed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand and tarrie as it were for his comming, notwithstanding he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie of twelue horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being twentie to one, durst to giue the onfet vpon him, but onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recovered and were come vnto him, and then without anie further harme departed.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlie appointed betwene the lord gouernoz and the rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Kaleigh being present began to charge him of his cowardnesse before the earle of Desmond, that he being twentie of his side, to him alone, durst not to encounter with him. Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his men standing by, said; that his maister was that daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull againe, if the like seruice were to be done, and in manie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Desmond hearing those great speeches, toke the matter

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and sir John of Desmond there present, and thre or foure others, the best they could chose, would appoint to meet him; capteine Kaleigh, and such foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and passe ouer the great riuer vnto them, and would there fite for two, foure for foure, or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them; but no answer was then giuen: wherupon the white knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this challenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this, there were speeches made, that the earle of Desmond was to depart from this long and wearie seruice into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place be the generall. Betwene the removing of the one, and the placing of the other, sir William Spogart, capteine Kaleigh, and capteine Piers had a commission to be gouernors of that part of Mounster, where they spent all that summer, and laie for the most part at Lismore, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportunitie serued.

And when the summer was spent, capteine Kaleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen. And as he passed through the countrie, it was auertised to him, that David Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troupe of sundrie hundreds of men. Wherevpon he thought good to passe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of David Barrie, if by anie meanes he might meet with him. And euen at the berie towne end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a lustie courage gaue the onfet vpon him. But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this capteine passing from thence, in his iourneie he espied in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a companie of footmen by themselves, vpon whome with sir horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being cut off from the wood wherevnto they were fled, and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue themselves, they turned backe, & conioining themselves together to withstand this force and onfet made vpon them, in which they behaued themselves berie valiantlie, and of the horses they killed sixe, of which capteine Kaleigh his horse was one, and he himselfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine, if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Worthite man borne had not bin. For he perceiving that his maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart, and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to an Irishman there, whose name was Patrick Fagaw, that he should loke to his capteine, and either to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie. Wherevpon the said Fagaw rescued his capteine, & the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onfet vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the capteine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in danger. For Wright not looking on them folowed the enimie berie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine Kaleigh perceiving cried out to his man, saying; Wright, if thou be a man, charge aboue hand & saue the gentelman. Who at his maisters commandment pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one of them, and so saued the gentelman: and in which skirmish his horse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

The challenge
made by the
earle of Des-
mond to the
seneschall.

Capteine Ka-
leigh a com-
missioner in
Mounster.

Capteine Ka-
leigh followeth
vpon Barrie.

Capteine Ka-
leigh in dan-
ger to be kil-
led.

The good ser-
uice of Nicho-
las Wright.

The lord
Koch is had in
suspicion, and
is sent for,

Captaine Ka-
leigh cometh
to the lord Ko-
ches house.

Captaine Ka-
leigh being re-
ceiued into the
castell getteth
in all his men.

At his long in Cozke there were sundrie pe-
ces of seruices done by him, all which doe verie well
deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all o-
thers this one point of his seruice deserueth both
commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The
lord Koch was growen into a suspicion that he was
not found of his loialtie. Whereupon capteine Ka-
leigh by commandement was to fetch him and his
ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was
not so pitauilie determined, but that the seneſchall and
David Barrie had knowledge thereof, and mind-
ing verelie to take the capteine at some aduantage,
they had assembled a great companie of themselves
to the number of seuen or eight hundred men to
haue met with him either comming or going. The
capteine perceiuing and sozethinking how dange-
rous his enterpryse was against so noble a man in
that countie as the lord Koch was, who was verie
well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his
men one and other, both horslemen and footmen,
which in the whole were not aboue foure score and
ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of
death betwene ten and eleuen of the clocke of the
same night. At which time euerie man being in a
readinesse, he took his forneie and marched toward
the lord Koches house called Ballie in Harsh, which
is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thi-
ther somewhat earlie in the morning. At his com-
ming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house
and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the
worst, did arme about fise hundred of themselves.
Whereupon capteine Kaleigh placed and bestowed
his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & mar-
ched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his
officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Pi-
chaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Writte,
Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Winking Buish;
and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a
while there came thre or foure of the said lord Koches
gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their comming,
vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was
come to speake with my lord: which was offered
he should, so that he would bying in with him but
two or thre of his gentlemen, which the capteine
was contented with, yet in the end (but with much
adon) he came in with all these few persons before
named. When the capteine was once come within
the castell, and had entred into some speeches with
the lord Koch, he so handled the matter by deuises
and meanes, that by little and little, and by some
and some, he had gotten in within the iron doze or
gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing
the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand
and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in
or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come
into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two
bullets. The lord Koch when he saw this, he was
suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare:
but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the
matter, and calling for meat, requested the capteine
and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe
him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the capteine falling into speeches
with the said lord Koch, declared plainlie vnto him
the cause of his comming, and shewed that he and
his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had
a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take
and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he
was to perforce, and so would. The lord Koch alled-
ged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, sai-
eng in the end that he neither could nor would go:
the capteine answered, that if they would not go
with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Koch seeing that there was no reme-
die, he yielded: and then the capteine minding to
lose no time, willed him to command and cause all
those of the towne, and all such as were about the
house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and
to set him forth in his forneie: which he did, and verie
willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeye the
capteines commandement, saying that he would
answer the matter well inough, and discharge what-
soeuer should be laid to his charge, for he knew him-
selfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his
wife redie to take the forneie in hand, as the cap-
teine did appoint and command: and towards night
they did set forthward to Cozke. But the night fell out
to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so
darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor per-
cerne one another; and the waies also were so foule,
so full of balks, billocks, pits, and rocks, that the
souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and
incombyed, some stumbled among the stones, some
plunged into holes, and some by their often falls
were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and
were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they
were among and in the middle of the enemies, who
laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue
intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the
darke night which was cumbersome to themselves,
was a shadow to shroud them from their enemies.
And in the end, though with much trouble, they came
to Cozke in safetie, sauing one soldier named John
Whellum, who by his often falling and stumbling a-
mong the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his
feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in
the end consume and rot awaie.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat
earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and pre-
sented his prisoners to the generall, with no little
admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a for-
neie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could
neuer haue escaped. The lord Koch being brought
to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that
in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and
a good subiect, and which in time was well tried and
knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons
and followers, did attend and perforce all such ser-
uices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thre of
his sonnes were killed by the enimie in his mai-
esties seruice.

Captaine Zouch (as is afoze said) laie at the Ding-
ham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous
and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it,
howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse
it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond
and David Barrie was assembled at Agbado with
thre thousand men; and he being verie desirous to
do some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of
horslemen and footmen vnto Casselmange. And
then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Cash,
he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before
they wist of aie such thing, and drew a great com-
panie of them, and drew the erle to such a push, that he
in his shirt was drawn to thist for himselfe, in the
middle of his galloglasses, and by that means he
escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe,
sought a better place of safetie, and remoued him-
selfe to Harlow wood, and passed by the waie to Kil-
mallocke. Which when the garrison there did under-
stand, they pursued and followed him, namely cap-
teine Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Spak-
worth, and capteine Sporis, thre miles together vpon
the plains betwene Kilmallocke and the wood,
and drew manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall
who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and
in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and
did

The lord
Koch yieldeth
to go with cap-
teine Kaleigh.

The L. Koch
acquitteth him-
selfe.

The L. Koch
and his sonnes
good seruices.

Captaine
Zouch putteth
the earle of
Desmond in
danger to be
taken.

Captaine Dowdall prieth the erle of Desmond.

The seneschall prieth the garison of Lismore.

The lord deputie established the captaine Jouch gouverneur of all Spounsser.

The L. Barne and the seneschall fall out.

Captaine Dowdall maketh a spiall upon the seneschall.

Sir John of Desmond appointed to make a league between Barrie and the seneschall.

The gouernour Jouch and captaine Dowdall make a secret iourneie.

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their cariages, and broue awaie a great preie of kine, and brougt them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Here about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and broue awaie their castell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and folloved the preie to recouer it; but they were so incountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and flue and twentie of their men were flaine. Diuerse skirmishes were daillie done vpon the enemie, and manie foynesies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a foynesie into Spounsser, where when he had taken an account of all the dwellings and seruices, he established captaine Jouch to be gouernour of all Spounsser, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh vnto Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with captaine Raleigh and captaine Dowdall, trauelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Cozke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie foynesies, as occasion of seruice did requite. And they being in Cozke, newes was brougt vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betwixte Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enemies; and at a deadlie fod; and they laie both in Dunstinnen side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother laie in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie fozie for this quarell, and would haue come on to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

Captaine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entred into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agrément betwene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Cozke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Cozke, and at their comming thither, did declare vnto captaine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and captaine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the ga-

risson vnto captaine Raleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poore man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the captaine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they folloved the tract of the horse a good prettie waie; but the captaine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waie, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were full by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour folloved: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two horsemen come riding toward them, but as soone as they had seene the said gouernour and captaine, they returned backe againe.

Then the captaine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwene the bog and the wood; which being done, they folloved those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horsemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they soze hurted with a horsemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongerullie, they toke: and both they caried with them to Cozke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged by by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Cozke. And James Fitzjohn was drawne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue vpon the third head of the venemous hydra cut off, who had his lust reward and merit, if not too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preie which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbreie, and passed with the same by Bentrrie, where laie a garison vnder the leading of captaine Appelie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captaine Jenson, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell in to the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumlager left alieue, who by swiftnesse of his foote escaped. The foresaid Appelie was a verie proper man, a gentleman bozne, and of a good house, and brougt vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being soone intised and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Spounsser: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do moze with him than he

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heeles.

The gouernoz
and capteine
Dowdall
spoile and en-
ter into Bar-
ries campe
and kill his
men.

Barrie sueth
for a protection

The A. de-
putie calbeth
sundrye bands
in Mounster.

Fitzmoris bar-
on of Lerna
breaketh into
open rebellion.
The cause of
this his bea-
king out, some
do impute it to
the hard dea-
ling of the go-
uernoz, who so
narrowlie wat-
ched him, that
he alwaies took
from him what
he had, and so
intercepted
him from his
prouision, that
he had nothing
left to eat.
Fitzmoris
seruant to Ca-
rew lord of
Lerna killeth
his maister.

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whom he found rather a father than a friend unto him: and then his behaviour was such, that he grew to be in good fauour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfully. The gouernoz continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then laie in Dunstennin, he togither with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some advantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and reifull order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so calbeth sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernoz, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first horsemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garrison at Adare in Kerrie. When all things (as saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subiect, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and joineth with him his wicked, traitozons, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first accessories were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of O'Don, and lordes of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and government vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was done by the Hauenaghs in O'Don in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Deuon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an advantage, slue him, and recovered the ward of Adare, af-

ter that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lescanille, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he vied this stratagem. He laid verie close & stealthie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wont euerie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turfes into the ward, that as soone as she was betwene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall her basket and crie out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after her accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vtter iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for her to come in. When she was come betwene the two doores, she let fall her great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to drave vnto them the vtter iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the walls. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vye other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldi-ers would be contented to accept anie courtlesie, he procured a yong harlot, who was some what knowl-faire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue bene done to her, and to humble herselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasie of her, and so would reteine her. And by these meanes, she by her cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmoris and her, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraye the castell. The capteine receiued her into the castell, and not for getting the late former practise at Lescanille, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Whereupon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried her by vnto the top of the castell and cast her ouer the walls, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, O'Don, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there plaid his parts.

The gouernoz, who late at Cork, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie togither, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrue) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmoris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Cork about thre daies iourneie. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their comming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drave his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lescanille. When the gouernoz was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbey) greatly distressed. From thence he went to Lescanille, which is ten miles further, where he discovered the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of galloglasses, kerne, shot, and horsemen, about seuen hundred men.

The gouernoz taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horsemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the rest

The baron of
Lerna de-
stroyeth all the
English in his
countrie, and
taketh the
quene's forts.

A stratagem
used in taking
the castell of
Lescanille.

A stratagem
at Adnagh.

The gouernoz
marcheth from
Cork to
Clanmoris
to incountre
with Fitz-
moris.

Capteine
Dowdall en-
tereth vpon
Fitzmoris,
and giveth
him the foile.

due

The baron of
Lerna fleeth
into the hills
of Slough-
lougher.

A supplye of
two hundred
men sent to
the gouernor.

Captaine
Dowdall set-
teth vpon
Fitzmorris in
Glanshilly and
queth him the
ouerthow.

The baron
Fitzmorris
with a few is
ouerthowne
to his bitter
fall, and for-
saken of all
his friends.

The baron be-
ing distressed
of all helpe,
seeketh to the
earle of Desmond
for a
protection.

The courtiesie
of the earle of
Desmond.

The earle of
Desmond
thought to be
dead dooth
now shew
himselfe.

due he reserved to himselfe. The capteine entred in-
to the wood, and followed untill he came into the
plains where Fitzmorris was; who hauing a great
compantie, and the capteine but (as it were) a hand-
full to his, he diuided his whole compantie into foure
parts, thinking to haue inclosed the capteine, and to
haue his will vpon them. The capteine perceiued it,
and forthwith brake vpon one of the compantes, and
had such a hand vpon them, that he slue a number of
them. Which when Fitzmorris saw, like a valiant
man turned his backe and fled awaie into the moun-
teins of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods be-
hind; which the capteine toke, and also all the cattell
there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From
thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which
Oliver Stephanson had the ward and keeping: and
there newes was brought vnto him, that the lord de-
putie had sent vnto him two bands of footmen, of
which one hundred were sir Henrie Mallops, and
the other capteine Morris. Wherevpon he trauelled
vnto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Glan-
morris, and of Berrie vnto capteine Dowdall. And
the said capteine being put to wiet that the baron
was incamped at Glanshilly with two hundred and
fortie gallogglasse, two hundred kerne, fourescore
shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe hauing
then but the lieutenant Wellingfield in his companie,
made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the swoord,
and dzaue into the riuier aboue seven score of them,
and recovered a pzeie of eight hundred kine, five
hundred horses and mares, besides a great number
of sheepe and goates: and in the taking of the baron,
he found store of monie and plate, and massing gar-
ments. And from hence he marched with his cattell,
and incamped besides Slough, nere vnto the earle
of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castell-
mange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went e-
uerie ward and garison with store of vittells, and
with the goods he rewarded his souldiours. From this
time, the baron Fitzmorris hauing lost all his proui-
sion & store, was neuer able to reconer himselfe, nei-
ther to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold vp his
head, but was forsaken of all his friends and follow-
ers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad
and dissolall trecheries, walked and wandered abroad
as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither
to go, or where to seke for succor and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his
distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of
Desmond, whome notwithstanding that without
cause he had berie much injured, hauing most out-
ragionlie pzeied his countries, burned his villages,
and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse
vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confes-
seth his follies; and being most forie for the same, de-
sireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most
humbly requesteth him to haue vnder him a protec-
on. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great
injuries done vnto him, and he of a great courage
and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put vp
so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion,
Pueri prostratis) when he had shewed the great
graces of the said Fitzmorris, he forgat all his owne
wronges, and granted him his request. Capteine
Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiours and com-
pantie at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine
Smith, he marcheth towards Cork, where he rested
and laie in garison. Now when all these broils were
ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene
at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace;
behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to
be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to
shew himselfe; and hauing assembled a great com-
pantie, came to Adare, where the garison issued out

vpon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and
manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith
sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant
were both slaine: but yet the English souldiours re-
covered the abbeie. About this time one Thomas
Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgi-
rald, being wearie of the wicked actions which hi-
therto he had followed among the rebels, sent his
messenger to capteine George Carew, requesteing
him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon,
and for so manie of his compantie as would toine
with and accompanie him in a pzeie of seruice to
be done: which he promised to recompense with the
pzeie of his capteins head, which he would in a bag
present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie
of his compantie as would not consent with him
therevnto.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the
cleerke of the band, who was one of the confederats,
berie trecherouslie did discover the same vnto Fitz-
giralde, who immediatlie toke and hanged his lieu-
tenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Eng-
lishman) and so manie of the souldiours as were of
that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde be-
thinking vpon the extreame miseries, which in this
rebellion he had indured, and the small hope which he
had to pzeualle in these his bad and traitorous acti-
ons, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least
at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldi-
ours: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices,
requiring his pardon, and which he would redeme
with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes
Theon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and
rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so couertlie done, but that Theon
mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he
forthwith intreated Fitzgiralde in the like manner
as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so
hanged him vp. The lord deputie after long sute for
his renocation, receiued hir maiesties letters for the
same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch gouernor
of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of
August 1582, after that he had serued full two yeres
he deliuered vp the swoord vnto the archbishop of Du-
blin then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Mallop
then tresuro: at armes, and toke shipping; hauing
with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by
one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie
other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man
of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient
descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and
doutfull to hir maiestie in all obedience. And albeit
he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had
sowed the good seeds of notable seruices, as well for
his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment;
yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but dar-
nell and cockle. For they had among them not one,
lie conspired his death, for which some paid deuelie;
but made also sundrie complaints against him, to
which he answered to his commendation and acqui-
tall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a bro-
ken time, the warres being not ended, the people not
quieted, and the gouernement not staied nor settled;
yet they both ioining their wisedoms, seruices, and
good wills, were so blessed therein, that by them that
land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse.
For not long after they had taken the swoord in hand
doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who
came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all
wickednesse, with James Fitzmorris in Iulie in the
yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuen-
tie and nine, to beate arms in this land against hir
maiestie, after that he had wandered by and downe
thence

The fight at
Adare.

A draught
made to kill
Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde
executed to
death so ma-
nie as conspi-
red against
him.

Fitzgiralde
practised the
death of Theon
mac Hugh.

Fitzgiralde is
hanged for his
conspiracie.

The lord
Greie yeildeth
vp the swoord &
returneth into
England.

1582
The lord chan-
cellor and sir
Henrie Mal-
lop are lord
iustices.

The death of
Dorot: Dan-
ders.

thye peares together with the earle and his brethren
sir John, in woods and bogs, and had lived with them
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene
partaker of their most cruell bloodsheds, outrages,
murthers, and robberies, a life good and too good for a
traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague
and of the bloudie air, and laie in the wood of Clen-
nellis, which is a wood full of allers, withies, byters, &
thoznes, and through which is no passage; where parti-
lie of his sicknesse, but chafelie for famine and want
he died. Euen in this filthy place, that most misera-
ble wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequar-
ting his treasons, treacheries, and disolaines a-
gainst his soueraigne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie
vnto the pope, referring the punishment to the Lord
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all trai-
tors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some
saie) was deuoured by of wolues, but (as some do
thinke) that so much as was left was buried at
Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he
died.

The two lords iustices being entred into this bo-
ken gouernement, did that they could to keepe the
same in peace; and understanding the wilfull dispo-
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he
imbued and poisoned with the venom of treason and
rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor any other re-
spect could perswade him to be a loiall and dutifull
subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-
customed spoiling and wasting the countries, and
trusting to no house nor castell, did shroud himselfe
in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he
kept his Christmasse in the wood of Billequeg nere
to Balmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie
then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a
good soldior, was resolved to make a draught vpon
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith
capteine Dowball, capteine Bangor, and George
Shojington yponost marshall of Spounser, all which
laie then in garrison in Balmallocke, and according
to the order betwene them then agreed vpon, they
marched in the night tyme to the place and wood
where the earle laie.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into
the wood of Billequeg, & by reason of the great raines
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to
passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did be-
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went
thither verie closelie, with such few persons as he
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a
number of stakes and hurdels to be made of halson,
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drowne
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when
he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and
tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the
matter, that when the capteins came, they passed o-
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.
And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and
bring them by the breake of the daie vnto the earles
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so
mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length
wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hea-
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordina-
rie and a greater companie to be in place more than
his owne, and doubting the wood ran out of his bed
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife
with him. The soldiors made diligent search for him

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but
could not find him; whereupon they did put to the
sword so manie as they found there, and carried a-
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Bal-
mallocke.

At this tyme the seneeschall secretlie with all the
force which he could make, came vnto the towne of
Spoughall, & entred into the end of the same towne.
Whereupon the alarm was raised, and forthwith
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capteine Spogan,
having all his soldiors together, of which he had forty
the shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the
seneeschall scaled the walls, & there he made a scone,
or a little bulwрке, and by that meanes saued the
towne, and drave the seneeschall from his purpose,
and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being dis-
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the
end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of De-
mond arrived from out of England to Waterford
with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whom he
divided and committed vnto the severall leadings
of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, cap-
teine Edward Berkleie, and capteine Roberts.
And being now lord generall by hir maiesties ap-
pointment ouer all Spounser, and having obtained
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eue-
rie soldior wages, he assembleth all the soldiors
and euerie capteine which had any charge, and toke
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were
to be done, furnissheth them with vittells, muniti-
ons, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for
them, requesting euerie one of them to shew them-
selues like good and valiant soldiors, in the pursuing
of the rebels, and banquishing of the enemies: and
such grace and loue he found among the soldiors,
that he was no more desirous than they most glad
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this tyme aduertisement was giuen vnto his
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped
in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number
of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his
companies, and minding to do some seruice vpon
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse
of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he diui-
deth his companies into foure parts, and they ente-
red into foure severall places of the wood at one in-
stant: and by that meanes they scotized the wood
throughout, in killing as manie as they toke, but
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-
uer after met together in the like companies, nor
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but
the most part of them, which were the chiefeest follow-
ers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as Fitz-
moris of Lerna before named, the seneeschall, the
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Knought, & sun-
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit
outrages, murthers, bloodsheds and spoiles, had
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship con-
sidering their repentance, sorrows, and humble sub-
missions, and respecting more hir maiesties goodlie
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the
most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests.
The soldiors after this peece of seruice were disper-
sed abroad into their severall garrisons. And albeit
the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword,
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,
yet none of them laie altogether idle, but did follow
the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the
earle himselfe, though he were thus unfeathered of
his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man,
a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon
him

The seneeschall stand-
eth & entred
into Youghall
and hath the
repulse.

The earle of
Desmond arriv-
eth to Water-
ford and is
generall of
Spounser.

The loue of
the capteins
and soldiors to
the earle of
Desmond.

The lord ge-
nerall scot-
teth Harlo
wood.

Desmond is
forsaken of all
his followers
and friends.

The earle of
Desmond be-
geth his
Christmas in
the woods.
A draught
made vpon the
earle by John
Welsh.

A device how
to passe ouer a
great riuer.

The earle ef-
capeth verie
hardlie.

him baslie were draughts and pursutes made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and thre, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Castell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboute thre scoze gallowglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a fornicie thither, and being entred in to the wood verie earlie, laie close all the forenone. For these gallowglasses had bin so dard from time to time, that now like a sort of deere they laie vpon their keepings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not tarry in anie one place anie long time, but where they did dwellle their meat, thense they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thense go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descric the countrie, and in the afternone they would sleepe. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were asleepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other vittells were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, five and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Spounsher.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundred foure scoze & thre, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the earle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or thre horsemen and a priest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the earle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they toke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be seene. And further, that he had his onelie reliefe and was fostered by Gozon mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discouered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cuth: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith perforce. The earle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittells and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cuth to the working of his wo; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourghier did from time to time gail and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Gozon mac Swene, & Poille Pporough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Gozon mac Swene in the meane time entred into Carberie, and taketh a

great preie of kine, which he done forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the fornicie was so long, that he laie thort of the earle that night about thre or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, thre of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stolen a waie their owne kine if by anie means they could, and if oportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer anie thing at all. The foresaid Gozon, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abrode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue scoze off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid thre men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both: and as sone as they had cut off their heads, they thifted for themselves. Gozons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abrode to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lieng dead vpon the ground; which call them into such a mize, as they wist not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the perjured and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the advantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Traleigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euening he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preie from thense, which they did, and brought the same a waie with them.

Among those kine thus dizen a waie, a poze two man of that countrie lost all those few that they had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie reliefe of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how they could by anie meanes recouer them: they bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which they had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Pporettos; and to him the runneth in all the hast they could, and declareth hir estate and case, praieing him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had broken the preie a waie, he to pleasure his sister toke thre other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmange, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chelson, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was dizen that waie. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vnder

A draught made vpon the gallowglasses in Harlo wood.

The gallowglasses in Harlo wood put to sword.

The L. Roch his men discouered by Gozon mac Swene.

The Desmond is released by Gozon mac Swene.

A garison appointed to be at the Dingle.

Desmond feareth Dowdall.

Gozon preth all Carberie by Desmond.

Gozon mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

der the castell, & so they went altogether to Talcigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man bozne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies under Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Talcigh, they appointed & made him their leader: & capteine; and Poretto because he was bozne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thence they followed the tract untill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closette and secretlie to dzato towards the fire and to discouer what companie was there, and how manie was of them; whir man did so. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about fise or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaite to that place to know the whole matter. Poretto was the guide to bying them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good arraie, as was most for their seruice, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. When Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head. wherewith the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staied his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he waied verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: whereupon the said Kollie bid and willed him to ppepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what them liked: and then they all departed and went to Castellmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinlie knowne. As soone as they came to Castellmange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was nosse and knowne, there was no more seruice to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subiects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet neuerthelesse he and his companie went to Abare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, wherof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioised and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Spounser, the two lord iustices which laie at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and bzaibling of the Irish people, not worth the remembryng: sauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two Deonhours, verie neere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Guill Patricke Deonhour appellat; the other was named Con

mac Coymake Deonhour defendat. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Wherevpon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintiffe was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendat brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaice placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendat was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the triall of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

Upon this their severall answers, they were severallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a coppozall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blad. Thus they being twoone are brought backe againe euerie of them to their severall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met ech one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarm the defendat, but also with the sword of the said defendat did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much, of the maner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances therein to belonging is now for want of vse almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so ballantlie done, that a great manie did with that it had rather fallen vpon the whole ser of the Deonhours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Balinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieve vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against hir maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some relæse and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie græfe & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreme pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

The maner of the combat,

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The earle of Desmonds head sent into England and put vpon London bridge.

John Bourke hauing a protection, made a sleath, and was killed.

A combat betwene two Deonhours.

The vicount of Balinglas: glasse wert of his life.

The vicount Balinglas: imbarke himselfe for Spaine.

Sir John Perot arriveth into Ireland to be lord deputie.

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and delivered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they called and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred souldiers excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent over to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundred fourescore and foure, the fir and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne vnto whome they delivered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to insue. For he was a right worthy seruitor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellously well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetual fame and immortal honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensie to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which do deserue to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and giue a hope that he will *Adde re colophonem*, and bying that land to a full and perfect government & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

The Scots rebell and are subdued.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are by in armes ready for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were dzien to seke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they toke the lands wherein they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yelding a yearelie rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

The counsell in Ireland.

The whole realme brought into hys grounds.

When then he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and induor was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did verie often assemble the whole counsell, or so manie of them as were there, for their aduise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Dymond lord treasurer, the pimat of Armagh, the bishop of Metch, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Wagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Willon knight chiefe iustice of the common pless, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rolls, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cotole knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Wabesbie, Geseffre Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good aduise, helpe, and counsell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bying the whole land into hys grounds, whereby the laws of England might haue a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidnete before had done in a few counties, that he perfo-

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To enerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisite, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and enerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

				The shires in Ireland.
Counties in Mounster.	{	Limerike	}	Old counties.
		Corke		
		Kerrie		
		Tipporaria		
		Crosse		
	{	Waterford	}	New counties.
		Desmond		
Counties in Ulster.	{	Louth	}	Old counties.
		Downe		
		Antrim		
		Monahon		
		Tiron	}	New counties.
		Armagh		
		Colrane		
		Donergall		
		Farmanagh		
Cauon				
Counties in Leinster.	{	Dublin	}	Old counties.
		Wexford		
		Catherlogh		
		Kilkennie		
		Kildare		
		Kings countie		
		Queenes countie	}	New counties.
		Meth & West-Meth		
		Longefford		
		Wickelow		
Fernes				
Counties in Connagh.	{	Clare	}	Old counties.
		Letrimme		
		Gallowaie	}	New counties.
		Roscomin		
		Maio		
	{	Sligo		

When he had perfozmed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then hir maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be soueraigne ladie and quene of the same. Then the Irish by little and little gaue ouer their Brehon laws, and their Irish blage, and became obedient vnto the English laws; vnto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betwene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Ulster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Dnele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Dnele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that prouince, when so euer ante discorde or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the same decided. Neuertheless, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile manner, do refer the mselues to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

English laws currant through Ireland.

Dnele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

R. f. at

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the trial of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good entrance and beginning; no doubt, but that partie by the lawes, and partie by the sword, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, his maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Ireland. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and encountered withall, by the right worthy sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were banquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the government of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthy to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge whereof, though John Hooker the writer hereof haue bene a diligent traveller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it self requirith, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and quenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoever tofore hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnnaturall, as were the last warres of the Geraldines of Desmond in Spounster. For of the Geraldines of Kildare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords annointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeyed in all humblenesse and dutie; because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the god, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the brieue recitall of the most speciall points, to moue each man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnnaturallie had stocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriving of his maiestie from his imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneie to pactise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster to soine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon sir Cormac mac Leige, was likewise taken and caried to Cozke, where he was drawne, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Cozke. After him, sir John of Desmond, one of the brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dolwaddall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a friendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Cozke, where his bodie was hanged by the heeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was divided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncertaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions bitterlie extinguished and ouerthrowne; onelie one soune of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords annointed: the one of them lifting vp his sword against his sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Spounster, one thousand five hundred threescore and nineteene, was slaine and killed: the other, after that he had followed the heeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie use to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their conforters and companions, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword.

And as for the great companies of souldiours, galloglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose blouds the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroe, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining aloue, sauing such as dwelled in cities and towne, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the towne was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie driuen to eat horses, dogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namely one in the countie of Cozke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, toke him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Smareweeke, or saint Sparie weeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

James Desmond taken in a robberie, hanged, drawne, & quartered.

Sir John of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the heeles.

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon London bridge.

Allen and Sanders bit the one with the sword, the other of famine.

All strangers slaine.

After the wars followed a famine.

A man hanged was eaten.

Men drowned and eaten.

The

The common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, orelwads, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw these dead bodies, they took them up, and most greedily did eat and devour them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentiful of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, euery waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Spounser, euen from Waterford to the head of Smáreweeke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in towne and cities; nor yet see anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharoicall and stiffnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obeye their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made chosse of a wicked dole, the god spazim to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeye, vnto the utter overthrow of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the godnesse that cometh from that great citie vpon the seven hills, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, master pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose blood chistnesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it doth apere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he daily exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which because he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by inchant-

ments, forceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereaue his maiestie of his life: What deuises hath he used to raise up his owne subjects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant him of his roiall estate and gouernment: What practises hath he used with foreign princes and potentates, to seeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres: And how craftilie hath he suborned his unholic & traitorous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through his maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade his people from dutifull obedience vnto his highnesse, and to denie his supreme authoritie and gouernment: Finally, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe seeke the deuouring of him, and of all his good subjects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospel: Whereof hath ensued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie apparant examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especially this tragedie of Spounser. In which it doth appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunke up the blood, the souls of the aire haue preyed, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euery man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice against all such as shall dishonor his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his anointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his anointed. And the good and godlie shall see, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continually doth preserve and keepe them from out of the talues of the lion in all safetie, that they should daily more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto his maiestie our soveraigne lady and quene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we his people see good daies, liue in security, and the peace of Israell shall be vpon vs.

The fruits which come from the pope.

The wicked practises of the pope.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell, Gent.

